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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2021

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HOFFMAN PRESENTS CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS REPORT

Prague PRACE in Czech 16 Apr 82 Supplement pp 3-31

[Report of the Central Council of Trade Unions on Activities Since the Ninth All-Union Congress and on ROH Objectives in the Upcoming Period of the Building of a Mature Socialist Society; presented by Comrade Karel Hoffman, Central Council of Trade Unions chairman; date and place not given]

[Text] Esteemed comrade delegates, and dear guests:

Five years have passed since the last congress. As provided in the bylaws, the Central Council of Trade Unions [URO] is now appearing before the 10th All-Union Congress respectfully to report on work that has been performed and to propose guidelines for union activity in the upcoming period.

In the course of these 5 years, we have progressed significantly in the building of a developed socialist society in our country, under the leadership of the CPCZ and in fraternal unity and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

While the capitalist world has seen a further intensification of a general crisis, with inflation increasing and unemployment approaching 30 million, in socialist Czechoslovakia we have achieved further progress, continued the development of the national economy and increased the living standards of our workers, despite the difficulties which we have had, and will have to overcome.

Unfavorable external circumstances have seriously complicated our efforts. This is a matter mainly of an increasingly tense international situation and the appearance of discriminatory imperialist policies against the countries of the socialist community. Export, import, and credit possibilities have worsened, competition has increased on world markets and the prices of raw materials, energy, and foodstuffs have risen sharply. The new situation was analyzed in detail by the 16th CPCZ Congress and attention was called to the fact that the economic sphere was not fully prepared to cope with this type of problem and obstacles. Planning activities did not keep pace with the changes. There was a lack of success in asserting the requisite turnaround in the implementation of the long-range strategic line directed at an increase in production efficiency, at maximum frugality and the quality of all kinds of work, at an increase in the efficiency and implementation rate of capital investment and at the practical application of science and technology.

For all of these reasons, we did not achieve the planned growth rate of the national income. We had to moderate certain objectives of the social program and back off from others, and we were even forced to introduce modified retail prices. Nevertheless, we succeeded, basically, in fulfilling the social program of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Social consumption and the average worker wage increased, and their social certainty increased. The educational system, science and culture developed further, and the educational level of the population also increased. Social democracy intensified, worker participation increased in production management and in the administration of public affairs. The process of the economic and cultural integration of our peoples and nationalities on the basis of equality and mutual trust progressed.

In the time since the Ninth All-Union Congress, the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] has played an active role in the development of a socialist society. It decisively supported the objectives of the 15th CPCZ Congress and worked out its own program on this basis. It focused the multilateral activity of union organs and organizations on the fulfillment of this program. We have still more firmly cemented together the million-strong ranks of unionists and united them around the CPCZ.

On the path of historical revolutionary changes, our people have convinced themselves that the essence of socialism is concern for the welfare of the working man. They have learned that in the contemporary world the only way to achieve this objective is through the intensive development of the national economy, increased production efficiency, high quality of all kinds of work and strict frugality. For this reason, the workers adopted the resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress as the only possible point of departure, as a binding policy which it is necessary to realize thoroughly in order to maintain the standard of living which has been achieved, and so that it will be possible to develop this further, while at the same time strengthening the social certainties of the people.

The demanding program for the further building of a developed socialist society which was adopted by the 16th CPCZ Congress presents our congress with an important task. The ROH, as a significant factor in the assertion of society-wide interests, of the justifiable needs and responsibilities of the workers, has been called upon to contribute its enthusiastic part to these building efforts, to play a still more important role in further social progress and even more responsibly to fulfill its irreplaceable mission.

Seven months of political and organizational preparation, of extensive pre-congress activity, created good preconditions for our discussions and for additional activities after the congress. The results of 5 years of work were evaluated in a productively critical and self-critical atmosphere at annual member meetings, enterprise, union and all-union conferences, at the Czech and Slovak ROH Congresses as well as at nationwide trade union congresses, and valuable suggestions and proposals were presented.

Workers, members of the intelligentsia and other employees evaluated, as actual managers, the results of political, economic, social and cultural development and the reasons for the shortcomings which have so far prevented a more

significant turnaround to intensive economic development and a more comprehensive improvement of working conditions and life for the working person. The meetings of unionists resounded with resolutions to work honorably and to implement thoroughly the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress even in this new, more difficult situation. The entire process of congress preparation, reinforced by the development of labor initiative, once again demonstrated that workers see in the CPCZ policy the best prospects for their lives, the guarantee of their social certainties.

Comrades, the social development outlined by the 16th CPCZ Congress is a continuation of the path along which the party has led the working class and other workers to victory over exploiters, to social liberation and the building of a new life. In this regard we recall the Red Unions, which came into being 60 years ago as firm supporters of the Communist Party. We continue today to develop their revolutionary legacy. The union of the working class and other workers found its expression in 1945 in a unified union movement. This unity belongs among the greatest historical achievements of the Czechoslovak people and had to be fought for, as in other countries, against attempts at sabotage by class enemies and opportunists.

We are well aware that ROH unity and its rich activity can develop further only on the basis of the thorough implementation of CPCZ policy, which fully corresponds to the fundamental interests of the workers of our country.

As documented in detailed written information and in a summary report, we have developed, between the 9th and 10th all-union congresses, consistent efforts at intensifying the comprehensive, balanced fulfillment of basic union functions in accordance with the Leninist concept of the role of unions in the building of a mature socialist society. We have responded to the difficulty and complexity of tasks by stepping up the activity of the basic union organizations and their members, by improving the efficiency of union organs, by exerting a positive influence on all aspects of the working person's life.

We can announce, and this was shown also by the annual member meetings, conferences and congresses, that the objectives set down by the Ninth All-Union Congress by and large have been successfully fulfilled.

Credit for this belongs to the concentrated efforts of union organs, to the dedicated work of the functionary corps of almost 2 million people, and to the great majority of members of our immense organization. To all of them belongs recognition and our sincerest thanks!

The results which have been achieved provide us with still greater possibilities for sharing in the implementation of party policy, for efficiently representing the interests and expressing the needs of workers. We are not denying that there are still many weak points, shortcomings and problems in union work. Some of these tenaciously persist after many years. The precongress preparation again called our attention to them. We must continue in the future to engage them in a decisive struggle and to do everything so that the union movement, which is today stronger, more unified and capable of action, holds its own in these new, more demanding conditions. For the eighties we can set

higher objectives for ourselves and participate, with still greater initiative and more decisively, in the resolution of the societywide tasks established by the party program.

In the report of the Central Committee at the 16th CPCZ Congress, as delivered by Comrade Gustav Husak, it is written "...society expects that the unions will further expand their initiative-taking role and responsibility for joint decisionmaking concerning, and the assurance of, the socioeconomic development of society."

We announce with all responsibility: We will not disappoint this expectation! The ROH accepts the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress as the firm foundation for its own program of activities. It will energetically implement this program, because it wishes to serve, and will do so honorably and consistently, the interests of the working class and of all workers.

We are utilizing fully the accumulated experiences and internal energy of our organization in the interest of the workers, to master successfully the tasks and problems of the contemporary development of socialist society, and to win over millions of unionists to the cause of their implementation.

The objective on which we will focus all of our efforts in the upcoming years may be described as follows: To develop broadly the role and joint responsibility of the ROH for the further development of socialist society, to intensify significantly the active participation of unions in the implementation of the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

The achievement of this objective requires that we base our actions in the upcoming period still more consistently on long-standing, proven values and principles, which express and assure the important societywide role and revolutionary mission of socialist unions. We shall base our efforts on historical experience and revolutionary tradition. We will make use of everything which has enriched union activity over past decades and that life has shown to be proper and successful. We will still more decisively strengthen and defend union unity! We will still more firmly fuse the ranks of unionists under the leadership of the CPCZ!

I. Intensification of the Joint Responsibility of Unions for Realizing CPCZ Policy, for Strengthening the Power of the Working Class, for Developing the Political System of Socialism and Increasing the Role of the ROH in Society

Comrades, the more complex external and internal conditions become, the more difficult the tasks we fulfill, then the more responsible is the task of the ROH. If we are to cope successfully with all these tasks in all aspects of social life, then it is essential to mobilize all of the creative force and abilities of the working class and other workers, to strengthen the position of unions in the political system of socialism, tirelessly to seek more efficient procedures at all levels, in all areas and directions of union activity. This must be the essence of a new quality of socialist commitment, of the societywide responsibility and revolutionary awareness of our union organization in the upcoming period.

We, as unionists, fully acknowledge the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class, the CPCZ, in society. For us it is a matter of making party policy close to and understandable to the people, so that every unionist recognizes that it corresponds to his vital interests. Our key task is to exert an influence on workers so that they actively fulfill party policy with this conviction in their daily lives.

The primary social force of revolutionary unions has been and continues to be the working class. Its connection with socialist ownership, its vital interest in the strengthening and development of socialist ownership predisposes it to unifying and expressing the interests of all working people, to occupying a leading position in the realization of socialist ideals. Our fundamental responsibility is to see to it that the working class be able to fully implement and develop its own activity, that it expand its participation in management and administration, in the political, economic and cultural development of the country, and that its working and living conditions continually improve. The creation of a socialist lifestyle and further successes in socialist construction depend on an increase in the consciousness, organizational level, disciplined behavior and collective awareness of the working class.

Above all, from this viewpoint, it is essential to adapt more rapidly and energetically the work of unions, union organs and organizations to the requirements of today, to be concerned more boldly with economic, social and societal problems. Through our activity, we will contribute to strengthening the power of the working class, to strengthening its crucial role in the development of socialist society. The working class is fully justified in evaluating its union organization according to its success in carrying out the implementation of its role in society as the ruling class and primary creator of socialist values.

The ROH will also continue to take steps to strengthen the ties between the working class and cooperative farmers. This link will also be more concretely integrated into the cooperation between the ROH and, above all, the Trade Union of Agricultural Workers, and the Cooperative Farmers Union. We want to strengthen further this cooperation so as to assist in expanding and utilizing the experiences of the working class among cooperative farmers. We will likewise urge workers in industrial sectors to satisfy more fully and in a more quality manner the pressing needs for the development and intensification of large-scale socialist agriculture in the interest of assuring self-sufficiency in foodstuff production.

The program for the further building of a mature socialist society, which is inseparably linked to the development of culture and education, to the application and utilization of science and technology, and to a concern for human health, also requires that union work be directed to intensifying cooperation between the working class and the intelligentsia. Close ties exist between the working class and the intelligentsia, based on their common interests in assuring the political, economic and cultural development of the country.

It is logical that cooperation with the scientific and technical intelligentsia is at the forefront today. Employees of the scientific and technical

intelligentsia form a significant part of our unified union organization. It is most desirable that they find within the ranks of the ROH broad space for the application of their interests and needs, for the development of the closest possible comradely cooperation with the working class and other workers. It is, therefore, the responsibility of trade unions, as well as of basic organizations in factories, research and scientific institutes, to devote increased concern to the work and life of the technical intelligentsia so that scientists and technicians, as well as managerial employees and other members of the intelligentsia come to regard the ROH as their union organization, one which efficiently defends their interests as well.

The ROH brings together in its ranks a majority of the members of the organizations and political parties of the National Front. It plays, therefore, under the leadership of the CPCZ, a significant role in promoting understanding among the classes and social groups of our society, in strengthening the international community of our peoples and nationalities. As a result of its mass and universal character, it has been called upon to contribute significantly to the moral and political unity of the people, to the creation of conditions for the satisfaction of their varied interests, for the application of the rights and freedoms of the citizens of a socialist state.

The needs of the further development of socialist democracy imply a necessity for strengthening the effective role of unionists in the activity of the National Front at all levels. We will continue to intensify comradely cooperation, especially with the Socialist Youth League, with the Cooperative Farmers Union, with scientific and technical societies, with the Womens Union, with the Union of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship, with the Physical Education Union, with the Red Cross and with other organizations which are concerned with the manyfaceted and differentiated interests of our citizens.

Comrades, in assuring the development tasks of a socialist society, as has also been shown during the assessment period, the relationship between unions and the socialist state comes more significantly to the forefront. These relations reflect our common interests. We proceed on the assumption that the socialist state is the embodiment of rule by the working class, that it is the instrument of power of this class, and that it fulfills and organizational role in the implementation of the economic, social and cultural policy of the CPCZ. We consistently govern our actions by the principle that the same class base, the implementation of the same program and policy, and the same basic objectives established by the party presuppose, make possible, and require the constant intensification of cooperation between the organs of the socialist state and socialist unions.

At the same time, we are well aware that the objectively different position of the state and of unions in the political system of socialism also implies a certain division of labor and the attendant responsibility. Life, however, also brings deviations from this principle, manifestations of underestimating the role of unions and of the disruption of positive cooperation and legal union rights. We cannot take these lightly and overlook them. What is important is that such instances can and must be resolved as a matter of course, by means of joint discussions in the spirit of the socialist legal order,

within the framework of socialist social relations. The guarantee of this is the leading and integrating role of the CPCZ. For our part, we will do everything possible to see that the cooperation between state organs and unions develops in the interest of socialism, in the interest of the workers.

The URO sees to it that union organs at all levels down to factory committees fully utilize the rights provided in Czechoslovak jurisprudence, which guarantees them cooperation, joint decisionmaking and even the right of social control. We consider it necessary to criticize the overlooking of the rights of union organs, organizations and workers which is evident in the work of some state and managerial functionaries. Likewise, it is necessary to criticize those union organizations and functionaries which do not utilize their rights, and which do not have enough courage and will to thoroughly implement corrective measures.

In this connection, it is necessary to state that in recent years, since the Seventh URO Plenary Session, it has proven useful for the URO secretariat to engage in regular joint discussions with the presidium of the CSSR Government. A number of successful measures have come from these talks, concerning which ROH members and the public have been informed. An important step in the intensification of cooperation was taken at the discussions which took place the evening prior to the congress. At this meeting, decisions were made concerning a number of serious questions which had been justifiably discussed prior to the congress and which are also contained in the report which has been submitted.

Similar discussions are being held at the republic and branch level, in krajs and okreses. Not all such discussions, however, produce the same kinds of results. A certain generality is apparent in them, mainly through the fault of our functionaries, who do not always place pressing problems on the agenda.

The technique of joint task evaluation and resolution by state and union organs must be utilized far more decisively in the interest of mobilizing social forces and resources. Likewise, it is necessary to implement throughout the enterprise sphere regular discussions of factory and enterprise committees with the management of economic and other organizations.

We attach great significance to the active cooperation of union organs and national committees in krajs and okreses. Okres and kraj union councils should make more decisive efforts at the urgent implementation of joint agreements so as to convince people that they are reacting to their suggestions, that shortcomings are being eliminated and that things are changing for the better. This is mainly a matter of improving transportation for workers, improving the quality of services and of work in stores, improving health care, housing and the overall environment.

Union functionaries who were elected as national committee delegates must also assist more effectively in the development of this cooperation and in the resolution of specific problems. And, obviously, we also place this requirement on those union functionaries who are the delegates of superior representative organs.

In recent years, some legal norms and political resolutions have been adopted which expand the rights of higher union organs and factory committees. We presented to the congress an aggregate overview of the valid resolutions concerning the position, rights and responsibilities of the factory committees and higher ROH organs. They are all assembled in the laws and other legal regulations, in documents and resolutions of the party, government and URO. This shows that union rights in the CSSR are truly extensive. It is necessary only to utilize them in all of the work of union organs.

This system of regulations and standards, however, has come about at various periods and is quite fragmented. Certain provisions must be brought into line with new conditions, especially in view of the implementation of the Set of Measures to Improve the Planned Management System of the National Economy and the further implementation of socialist democracy. It is likewise necessary to formulate legally the current position of enterprise professional committees and supervisory union organs with regard to the appropriate economic partners. We are also considering the possibility of instituting other legal modifications which are contained in the legal codes of other socialist countries. This concerns, for instance, guarantees for union functionaries who, while asserting societywide interests and the needs of workers, collectives or individuals, are forced to criticize improper bureaucratic procedures by certain managers and shortcomings in administration or organization of work, and thereby find themselves in a complicated situation. It is likewise necessary to institute an appropriate standard and certain justification for higher union organs.

We recommend to the congress that it delegate to URO the working out and approval of appropriate proposals, which will be presented to the CSSR Government and the Federal Assembly.

As the 16th CPCZ Congress emphasized, the work of unions in many areas is irreplaceable and it is not possible to depart from strict standards in its activities. Once again in this regard we recall the well known but not fully appreciated words of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, that unions are a school of management and administration, a school of resource management and of communism. This is a valid and still vital description of the basis and role of the union movement under socialism.

Ever newer generations are learning in the unions to think and interact in a socialist manner, and to realize the common interests of the working class and of other workers.

For this reason, it is our fundamental responsibility to intensify the joint responsibility of the ROH and to increase the activity of unionists in the implementation of CPCZ policy, in the development of the socialist political system, in strengthening the power of the working class, in the defense and fulfillment of worker rights.

II. Developing the Creative Potential of the Working Class and Other Workers to Assure the Economic Development of Society

Comrades, the results which we have achieved since the Ninth All-Union Congress in the economic and social development of society are the fruits of dedicated work and the spread of worker initiatives. It was, above all, worker collectives, socialist work brigades, comprehensive rationalization brigades, and hundreds of thousands of true heroes from a variety of areas and branches who contributed decisively to the fulfillment of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. By fulfilling their socialist commitments they participated in increasing the efficiency and quality of production, and in the conservation of materials, energy and other items within the framework of the unionist billions. The implementation of inventions and improvement suggestions represents an aggregate social benefit of roughly Kcs 36 billion. There was success in enriching the capital stock of the national economy with facilities of society-wide importance. Likewise, the greatest number of apartments in the history of our five-year plans was built.

Clearly also, we must thank from this podium, in your name, the collectives and all of the individuals who contributed with their honorable work to the achievement of such positive results. We would like at the same time to recognize those workers who honorably fulfilled the commitments entered into for the 10th All-Union Congress and who took some initiative in contributing to the implementation of the difficult tasks of the second year of the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

The assurance of intensive economic growth, and to make it truly efficient and well managed, is now the most pressing, vitally important task which every worker, every unionist must keep in mind.

The ROH has an irreplaceable mission in the mobilization of workers to develop initiatives and socialist competition, in support of efforts to achieve a high level of all work, discipline and order. In the report of the Central Committee presented at the 16th CPCZ Congress by Comrade Gustav Husak, it is emphasized that, "Among the principal tasks of the ROH will continue to be concern for increasing initiative and for fostering socialist competition among workers. The way that initiatives develop among our people will depend to a large extent on the unions. We cannot allow the activity and dedication of workers to be devalued by formalism, by an excess of paperwork and shortcomings in work organization and management."

Those were accurate words. To be honest, we must admit that despite many positive results and exemplary actions in the development of worker initiative, truly many shortcomings turn up in socialist competition. The dedication and efforts of workers could not always be fully evident, and there was a lack of success in overcoming obstacles and shortcomings which meant that we then did not reach all of our established objectives.

To fulfill the current national economic tasks it is essential to proceed concretely and differentially, with a knowledge of the situation in individual sectors, enterprises and factories, in such a way that the current mass

character of the competition movement increases in the requisite quality and needed economic contributions. We will achieve this only in the event that the focal point of competition becomes the implementation of tasks directed at the assertion of the strategic line, i.e., high efficiency, quality and frugality, following through and utilizing scientific and technical progress. Above all, from this viewpoint we will apply Leninist requirements for socialist competition, rigorously evaluate and compare achieved results, publicize and expand the most progressive experiences, develop comradely assistance and cooperation and see to a just material and moral evaluation of the best collectives and individuals.

Let us fully utilize initiative, experience, collective intelligence, the rich creative potential of individuals and collectives, especially in those areas where we have the greatest weaknesses and where the national economy needs these contributions most of all!

Of those tasks to which we directed the attention of trade unions and basic organizations as early as the Seventh URO Plenum in 1979, let us recall once again primarily the conservation of fuel, energy, metals and other materials, an increase in the quality of goods for the domestic and foreign market, a reduction in the range of goods in short supply which we can manufacture from domestic resources and the fulfillment of investment plans. And if we spoke with all seriousness about these tasks 3 years ago, then they are still more pressing today.

We cannot avoid a share of the responsibility for the fact that at many factories one still meets with instances of unbelievably poor management and waste. We do not have to stand for a situation in which both union functionaries and managerial employees pretend not to notice that such issues exist. In every union shop, in every basic organization, in production and at scientific and research workplaces, in every union the comrades should responsibly and quite concretely be concerned with reducing the energy and materials intensiveness of production and construction, with a higher valuation of and better management of fuels, energy, metals, precious raw materials and with working time.

The same applies to increasing the quality of output. Experience confirms that the initiative of collectives and individuals, even when directed at the proper goals, is often expressed formally, because it is not coordinated with the conscious efforts of employees in the reproduction stages. This is a serious warning for factory committees and for higher union organs, which ought to pay more attention to the efficiency of worker initiatives and the outcomes of union work directed at a high product use value, at limiting the production of low-quality goods and at increasing the percentage of technically sophisticated, high-quality products.

At a time when the scope of capital investment is being severely limited, it is especially important to focus worker initiative on maintaining the established schedules for completion of construction projects and on remaining within budgeted costs, as well as on achieving projected outputs. It is likewise necessary to develop initiatives to eliminate shortfalls and to complete smoothly the plan for comprehensive dwelling construction.

The development of worker initiatives and of an increase in the quality of commitments ought to be influenced favorably by the introduction of the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy. Therefore it is desirable that every employee master those principles of the Set of Measures which are integrated into the conditions of his enterprise, factory or worksite, and that collectives work in accordance with them. We are asking that trade unions, in conjunction with ministries and VHJs [Economic Production Units], impart the necessary direction to initiatives and competition within specific branches and fields. It is their responsibility to monitor the ways in which the managerial employees are creating the conditions for the development of initiatives, while at the same time assisting factory committees to request the creation of the requisites and to win over work collectives to conscious participation in competition.

A precondition for the success of competition is also the consistent inspection of the fulfillment of commitments. The activity of competing individuals and collectives utilizing progressive experiences and new work techniques ought to become evident in economic performance. And it is necessary to evaluate the level of competition and of commitments according to this performance and according to the efforts which must be made to overcome obstacles to their achievement.

In the entire nonproduction sphere as well, it is a question of asserting the strictest possible management controls and of the rational utilization of material and financial resources. People rightly make an issue of why, for instance, given the slowness and low quality of the assurance of services, their costs and prices rise.

This is a matter of a politically very sensitive issue. We assume that basic organizations urge those unions which include employees who perform all kinds of services to keep these matters continually in the center of their attention and that basic organizations will also concern themselves responsibly with these issues.

The value of socialist commitments and the level of competition is determined by conscientious organizational and educational activity within work collectives, where everyone ought to know the plan tasks, technical and economic standards and earnings possibilities. Competition cannot develop well, however, in situations where a smooth flow of materials has not been assured, or where labor and production organization does not function. This means that in these places as well we must reach the fulfillment of Lenin's requirement of "fewer bombastic phrases, and more simple hard work..."

Among the mechanisms which lead to a unification of the efforts of the final producer and his suppliers, to greater linkage and interconnection between the commitments of various collectives, are joint socialist commitments. If they are well thought out and coordinated in terms of materials and time, they have proven themselves primarily in the timely implementation of large capital investment facilities. We also ought to extend joint socialist commitments to the sphere in which decisions are made concerning the high quality and use value of industrial products, foodstuffs and consumer goods, services and the

like. Trade unions ought to attempt to overcome sectorial and intersectorial barriers, break down the walls of the failure to comprehend and of indifference to the mutual needs of enterprises in supplier and consumer relations, in material-technical supplying, to overcome obstacles of all kinds and more decisively than heretofore introduce the signing of joint commitments.

Worker initiative contributes an incalculable economic effect, but no less important is its educational influence. Competition assists in forming and developing a socialistic relationship to work and to social ownership, leads to conscious work discipline, strengthens collective ties and educates a person to be aware of his responsibility for the performance of the entire collective.

An indispensable role is fulfilled in this regard by competition for the coveted title of Socialist Work Brigade [BSP]. Three million workers today subscribe to the slogan "Work socialistically, live socialistically." This is an immense, transforming force. Many of these brigades are actual examples of a model attitude toward work and the socialist way of life. The practice of joint brigades is contributing a number of new possibilities.

The remarkable performance of these brigades is calling forth the justifiable admiration of society and is worthy of being evaluated here as well, at the 10th All-Union Congress.

There are, however, other collectives as well whose activities do not correspond to the title that has been awarded them of BSP, collectives which are stagnating and are in no way differentiated from average collectives. It is our affair and responsibility that every collective which bears the title of BSP be significantly differentiated from other collectives.

However, not even the potentials of the best BSP collectives are fully utilized. The demanding tasks of the 16th CPCZ Congress require them to use this potential fully now. We welcome the fact that not only union organs but the collectives themselves have comprehended the new guidelines for brigade activity.

Specific suggestions for the further development of the movement may be contributed by the nationwide branch conferences of BSPs where they will be able to exchange experiences and to acquaint themselves with the main objectives of competition in the relevant sector and field.

Because the development of initiatives depends to a large degree on unions, it is essential that trade unions, all union organizations and above all basic organizations devote attention and constant care to this issue.

Comrades, the practical application of scientific and technical progress is of absolutely vital importance for the intensification and further growth of the national economy.

The integration of the scientific and technical revolution and the advantages of socialism is a great revolutionary task. The main responsibility for the application of science and technology in the interest of intensifying production

and the entire national economy rests, of course, with the organizers of production. However, without the participation of people, without the ROH it will not be possible to achieve the desired results in this area either. It is important therefore, that union organizations do more for the utilization of science and technology. It is necessary to mobilize all underutilized resources which exist in the factories and to attempt to see to it that an increase in the technical sophistication of production be linked to improved working conditions, to the elimination of physically exhausting work, to an increase in the professional qualifications of people and to a strengthening of technical discipline.

Likewise it is necessary to multiply the organizational and politically educational work of union organizations within the ranks of the technical intelligentsia. Technical employees, especially in the preproduction stages, substantially influence the final results of efficiency and managerial controls and often hold in their hands the key to high product quality.

Comprehensive rationalization brigades play a large role in the joining up of science with production. We respect their work and we will support and value them even more. We will see to it that union organs assist in the development of rationalization activity in every branch and especially in the engineering industry, so that not even small rationalization measures which might assist in resolving the current shortcomings in workshops and at work sites are left out. It is necessary to expand continually the basis of this meritorious initiative from which will grow new improvers and inventors, especially from the ranks of younger workers.

We are evaluating the initiative of those improvers and inventors who have set themselves the objective of delivering to the national economy during the Seventh Five-Year Plan 45 billion korunas of societywide benefit from utilized suggestions. Employees whose important improvement suggestions, inventions and discoveries lead to a substantial increase in the quality and management of production and to high efficiency, are worthy of the greatest possible support. Union organs are required more decisively to require the elimination of many types of bureaucratic obstacles which often block the application of their creative ideas. Particular responsibility is borne by the central committees of the metal industry, chemical and construction unions, from which come almost 70 percent of all improvement proposals. It is also necessary more consistently to defend the justifiable claims of improvers and inventors and not to put up with breaking the law when evaluating their work.

The closest possible cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CEMA countries in the areas of science, technology, research and production is of priority importance to efforts to set the national economy on the road to intensive development with the aid of scientific and technical progress. That it is possible in this area as well to make greater use of initiatives from collectives of cooperative enterprises has been demonstrated by the first successful steps of international competition in the implementation of joint Czechoslovak-Soviet projects, during the construction of nuclear power plants, the Prague subway, in the exploitation of mineral wealth and the like.

We are convinced that the importance of international competition will increase further, that it will be enriched with new and successful forms and that it will gradually include other important programs in individual branches. Trade unions must devote continual attention to this and support it in as many ways as possible. It is such an important task that it must also be integrated into the plan for the activities of the URO executive organs.

Comrades, the development of a socialist society and socialist democracy is to a decisive degree dependent on the growth of worker participation in management. When worker participation in management increases, they become true managers of common property, their interest increases in fulfilling plan tasks, they begin to be intolerant of disorderly conditions, of irresponsibility and shortcomings in the organization of production. This places great demands on the supervisory managerial employees and on the union organization. It requires patient work with people and their education in social responsibility, in taking an active role in the management of production. V. I. Lenin, at the beginning of socialist construction cautioned that introducing worker participation in management in the political area is "much easier... than in the economic area, but for the success of socialism it is the second of these that is most important." How perceptive and highly relevant these words are even in our current conditions!

The utilization of worker participation in management, which is both one of the main advantages of and a source of socialism's strength, is the more pressing the more complicated are the tasks we are resolving, and the greater the demands being placed on the quality of management and of planning. It is primarily a matter of union organs and organizations becoming qualified, creative and demanding partners of state and economic organs, of utilizing much more efficiently their possibilities and power for the fruitful participation of collectives in the compilation, implementation and control of plan fulfillment, and in the resolution of problems at the workplace.

It is unfortunate that most economic managers persist in undervaluing the role of worker collectives both in the area of plan formulation and in the area of breaking down approved tasks. In accordance with party requests of unions, we have on more than one occasion critically pointed out that planning and administrative organs request plan proposals on such short notice that it is practically impossible to discuss this with work collectives, with BSP, at production conferences and often even at the factory ROH committee.

It is likewise disconcerting that not quite one-half of the factory committees utilize their legal right and adopt an attitude to annual plans, and that their number continues to decline. Moreover, many factory committees uncritically defend requests for supplemental funds and investment, without regard for societywide interests and the underutilized potential which they could mobilize in their own factory. The central committees of trade unions have as their task, in conjunction with ministries and the management VHJs, to increase substantially the quality of assistance available to factory committees and to instruct them to take a more rigorous approach, so that as early as the plan preparation stage the attention of the employees would be oriented toward

qualitative indicators, to resource formation, which at the same time influences the level of compensation and material incentives for the work collective.

The Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System provided the possibility for applying the technique of counterplanning, which we have already been applying for a long time. However, for counterplanning to become a habit and to be effective, the appropriate conditions must be established. It is not possible to count on its being introduced only thanks to what it contributes to funds for collective material incentives, the more so because the current experience of certain collectives which took the initiative in adopting a counterplan demonstrates that the principles of counterplanning are not always respected by higher organs.

It is the responsibility of union organs at every workplace to request from managers that work collectives, BSP, improvers and inventors be aware under what conditions they may adopt higher tasks than in the plan and on what problems they should focus their efforts. Counterplanning produces results only when there has been well-considered organizational and educational work in union shops and brigades, only, that is, when the employees comprehend the direct connection between their job performance and the improved satisfaction of their needs.

We are requesting that the central committees of trade unions discuss with the appropriate sectors those issues which it is essential to resolve, and to do so in such a way that counterplans expand to enterprises and factories as a reliable path to an intensification of production and a broad commitment by collectives to achieving high labor productivity, reducing production costs, and delivering high-quality products.

The necessity of expanding worker participation in plan formulation and implementation requires that we spend some time trying to understand the reasons for the consistently insufficient utilization of production conferences. At probably every session of the URO and when other opportunities have arisen, we have emphasized that the possibilities and influence of production conferences is not being adequately exploited at all times and in all locations. Production conferences, worker suggestions and their efforts to contribute to more efficient management are inseparable components of the development of socialist democracy.

Let us, therefore, discuss modifications jointly with managers, let us stimulate the specific material interest of employees in the resolution of current production shortcomings and in balanced plan fulfillment, both of which correspond to the role of conscientious managers of the type that all unionists should be.

Everything that must be done to improve the quality of production conferences is included in the applicable principles, meaning that we need not think up any new prescriptions. It is a matter of making every production conference the subject of joint and careful preparation by the foreman and the shop steward, so that they may present at the conference the actual problems of the workplace, and so that suggestions submitted by employees may be carefully considered.

This requires that trade union central committees, in conjunction with ministries, regularly concern themselves with the inspection of the implementation of production-conference principles in the area of their influence.

In view of the fact that there were elected at the annual meetings many new shop stewards who do not have experience in the organization of production conferences, and that in addition many foremen are also not well acquainted with the principles of production-conference organization, it will be desirable to find an appropriate method for eliminating this serious gap and reaching a situation in which production conferences fulfill their important function.

Since as early as the Eighth All-Union Congress, we have been speaking of the need for permanent production conferences at the workshop, factory and enterprise levels. This element is lacking even more in the implementation of the improved planned management system for the national economy, which becomes evident from the fact that in certain enterprises the factory and enterprise committees have themselves taken the initiative to organize them. The URO has prepared a proposal of principles for the activities of permanent production conferences and, as we agreed not long ago with the presidium of the CSSR Government, we will proceed with their practical verification after the conference.

When we emphasize the requirement of intensifying worker participation in the management of production, factories and enterprises, factory and enterprise collective agreements cannot be left out. The principles which we have approved jointly with the government are being verified, and the importance of collective agreements is undoubtedly increasing. It is, however, desirable that they gain even more importance for managerial employees, factory committees and higher union organs. They are important documents concerning the assurance of resource formation and allocation according to the merit of individuals and the entire collective. We have, therefore, agreed with the presidium of the CSSR Government that the registration of collective agreements by the appropriate supervisory managerial and union organs be renewed.

We are also approaching trade unions and urging that they consistently observe the principle that wherever there is a factory ROH committee there should also be a currently valid collective agreement. At the same time, we are cautioning that when concluding enterprise or even union collective agreements, the jurisdiction of the factory committees may not be limited, meaning that worker participation may not be limited in joint decisionmaking concerning enterprise-wide issues.

To work and manage consistently, honorably and with initiative, to utilize fully such powerful motive forces of socialism as the conscientious participation of workers in the management of production and in competition-- this is the class interest of the workers, but also a vital interest of members of the intelligentsia, of managerial employees, of all employees. It is a reliable path to a prosperous national economy, to the strengthening of social certainties, to the assurance of peaceful work and the future of our people.

Comrades, worker efforts to increase labor productivity and to efficiently utilize material and labor resources will reach their desired levels only in the event that we value, according to its merit, every socially necessary and well-performed task while at the same time assuring that there will be consequences for lackadaisical or low-quality work. Worker interests are definitely not served when a union organization tolerates underutilized working hours, the disruption of labor discipline, various abuses and a lack of work organization, or when it conducts an arbitrary wage policy.

Despite certain improvements in union activity in the area of compensation which have occurred particularly in recent years, following the issuance of guidelines regarding an increase in the role of union organizations in the area of wages, it must be stated that the influence of union organizations on the fulfillment of this task and the related rationalization and standardization of work has been significantly varied. Many have been successful in making improvements, especially in organizations of the textile, clothing and leatherworking industries, likewise in the chemical, paper and glass industries, in metallurgy and energy generation, in railway transportation and in retail trade. But in a number of organizations of the production and nonproduction spheres, the concern of factory committees for wage issues is still quite insufficient.

Strong leveling tendencies continue to persist. Wages are still on many occasions determined not at all on the basis of demonstrated work performance, but according to deep-rooted relationships and pressures of all sorts. This damages the interests of those who work well and conscientiously and undermines efforts to achieve improved results. In certain organizations, the influence of material incentives is limited by wage restrictions and the performance ceilings which result from them, in the interest of a conflict-free drawing down of wages payable. This then leads to a covering up of underutilized output potential, to the unjustified increase of overtime work, to a weakening of material incentives and employee initiative. If wage increases precede increased labor productivity and resource formation, this has negative consequences not only on our entire economy, but, in the final analysis, also on the level of satisfaction of worker needs.

By agreement with the URO, the CSSR Government has adopted a concrete program for increasing the economic efficiency of the wage system under present conditions. The critical factor, however, will be the success achieved at the factory and enterprise level, given small wage increases, in implementing a thorough differentiation in compensation, increasing the efficiency of premiums and bonuses, and with what kinds of activities the factory ROH committee will participate in the solutions to these problems. Without justified standards, without precise work documentation, without improved calculations, we will not achieve just compensation according to merit. Also, suggestions for the development of initiatives will weaken. Union organizations ought more decisively to demand the elimination of leveling trends and the institution of order in the compensation process, and support the economic leadership so that work according to justified standards becomes commonplace at all workplaces.

It is, however, necessary that work collectives be acquainted with all wage measures. Each change in compensation may be effective only when it has been

discussed with a collective, when the employees understand its importance and discuss it on this basis. This is also the way to avoid unnecessary misunderstandings and conflicts.

Thorough consideration should be given to Soviet experiences with the organization of brigade work forms and compensation, as these were . at the 17th Congress of Soviet Unions by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, L. I. Brezhnev. Certain Czechoslovak collectives are already attempting to make use of the proven aspects of this progressive organization of labor. Those who recall that this technique was once successfully applied in this country will confirm that it is possible to create the necessary preconditions for this. We are approaching union organizations in the factories where this method will be tested and urging them to take the initiative in cooperating on the necessary measures and on winning over workers to this progressive form of labor organization and compensation.

Issues of the rational allocation of workers and the full utilization of their abilities and qualifications are also coming to the forefront in a pressing manner during the Seventh Five-Year Plan. As a result of structural changes in the national economy and rationalization measures in industrial production, construction and in other sectors, the necessity has become clear in certain instances of relocating some employees to other factories or to other specialties. Trade unions must see to it that these workers are provided with the necessary assistance during their incorporation in a new work environment, while learning new tasks, or while obtaining new qualifications, to assure that their abilities are being utilized and that they are not being denied earnings to which they are entitled. It is necessary to resolve very sensitively the problems of placing the young generation of high school and college graduates, ever greater numbers of whom are entering the work force.

We support fully the intentions of the CSSR Government to reduce the numbers of employees in an administrative capacity. Workers are justifiably critical of these increases.

The URO has on more than one occasion criticized the unfavorable developments in this area. It is of the opinion that the reduction of the administrative apparatus could be conducted more rapidly and decisively, even while minimizing negative social consequences and under conditions in which each measure will be discussed previously with the appropriate union organ. Likewise, we have recently discussed these issues with the presidium of the federal government.

There is, by the same token, the related request that there be a simultaneous and demonstrable reduction in the number of various, often completely unnecessary, reports, statistics and decrees which complicate management and are annoyances in the lives of citizens. This presumes that all administrative activity will be noticeably rationalized.

The ROH is proceeding with the assurance of the economic tasks contained in the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress with the awareness that their fulfillment is a precondition for further national economic development, for resource formation,

and for making possible the maintenance and further increase in the living standards of workers and in their social certainties.

We want systematically to intensify the economic function of unions in close conjunction with other basic union functions. At all workplaces and factories, we will create an atmosphere of creativity in the resolution of the most difficult problems and consciously fortify the trust of employees in socialism and in party policy.

III. Improving Concern for the Working and Living Conditions of Workers

Comrades, as stated by the 16th CPCZ Congress, in the recent past we have achieved positive results in improving concern for the working and living conditions of the workers. The congress took note of the important role of the ROH in achieving these results. Union participation has been evident mainly in the systematic reduction in work-related injuries, in expansion of factory catering, in increased facilities for union sponsored recreation and an overall increase in its quality, in an expansion of the network of factory preschool child care facilities and in a number of measures benefiting working women and mothers, in a certain improvement in preventive and curative capabilities at factory health-care facilities, as well as in a strengthening of labor law relationships. No small contribution has also been made by a more conscientious enterprise social policy, founded on comprehensive programs for employee welfare which have been incorporated into collective agreements.

We are, however, convinced that the results could have been still better had these efforts been equal in all directions and been evident in all enterprises and factories. Of the circumstances which often caused significant differences, we call attention to two of the main ones: Many economic organs underestimate issues of the working and living conditions of the collective and do not concern themselves with them systematically and regard comments and requests from union agencies as undesirable burdens. The other important reason is a lack of consistency and insufficient emphasis by union organs and organizations themselves, which do not properly fulfill their mission and do not provide for the defense of the legal rights of workers. This reality, which severely hampers the authority of unions, must definitely be changed.

Enterprise social policy is the most important sphere of concern for employees where the role of unions is indispensable. It is here that the dual role of union organizations is evident on an immediate and daily basis-- in addition to seeing to the development of production, also providing for the improvement of work conditions and employee welfare. Only when both of these aspects of union work are fulfilled in a balanced manner will employees be convinced that the union organization is truly looking out for their well-being. And we do not have a small number of responsibilities in this area; whether it is a matter of improving the working environment, work safety, the elimination of physically exhausting work, the establishment and maintenance of standards of social amenities at new industrial facilities and older operations, or the reduction of the amount of overtime work, monitoring the development of occupational diseases and improving living conditions and the environment in certain krajs of the republic.

Even though we frequently discuss these issues we must admit that the results achieved so far are not what we would have hoped. Among other things, this is true because certain employees in positions of responsibility are lacking in a fundamental comprehension of the importance and urgency of these tasks. Union functionaries have on more than one occasion simply taken note of shortcomings, or have gotten involved in solving them only formally, without the needed results. They are not aware that just as it is impossible to assure the growth of the standard of living without the requisite increase in production, so will the further development of production itself be unsuccessful unless working and living conditions improve in a corresponding manner. Let us recall how difficult it was, for instance, to force a panel of ministers to take up the causes of each fatal accident, and with what benevolence serious violations of work safety regulations are overlooked, even at enterprises which have been suggested for Red Banner awards.

The binding joint responsibility of unions is expressed by their right to social control in the area of safety and health protection at work.

To be sure, through pressure generated by union organs and basic organizations at factories there has been a gradual reduction in workplace injuries, but numerous problems still remain unresolved. The number of so-called risky workplaces is increasing, unfortunately, even in places where new technologies are being introduced.

Positive results are being obtained from annual public inspections of the safety status of work and the application of the techniques of the Soviet pioneer in collective education for work safety, A. D. Basov. We will continue to implement the full introduction of a three-level system, i.e., daily, weekly and monthly inspection of work safety. Safe work requires the education of workers to adhere strictly to technological discipline, to a definite work schedule, to work safety norms and safety standards and to the utilization of preventive work aids. At the same time, attention must be paid to the consistent implementation of directives of the appropriate control agencies. The improvement of the working environment, the gradual shift from safety technology to safe technology, a reduction in the number of risky workplaces and the causes for the occurrence particularly of mass accidents and occupational illnesses, a further substantial restricting of the number of women handling loads above an allowable weight; these are the fundamental tasks in the improvement of occupational safety. It is also necessary to improve the quality of the training of union inspectors of occupational safety.

We are also obligated to express, here at our congress, dissatisfaction with the dilatory resolution of an old problem, the insufficient production of quality personal occupational protective equipment. If the responsible locations would respect the joint measures of the CSSR Government and the URO, and if the enterprises would also put matters in order energetically in terms of the utilization, maintenance and testing of protective equipment, we would have fewer problems today. However, since this is not the case, we have agreed with the federal and republic governments that they will again study the situation in the fulfillment of the relevant resolutions and provide remedies, including

penalties for employees who are responsible for tasks so important for protecting employee health, and at the same time do not fulfill them.

The number of justified employee complaints concerning factory health care is increasing. We expect that the state health administration will deal responsibly with them and that it will direct its efforts at the more rapid completion of a network of factory health-care facilities which could be used by both smaller factories and facilities as well as agricultural organizations, where with rare exceptions factory physicians are not yet assigned. At the same time, it is necessary to increase the sophistication of the existing factory health centers and to stabilize the numbers of factory physicians, who for their part should devote more time to prevention, in the interest of the timely elimination of unfavorable influences from the work environment on the health of employees. Nor can the completion of a system of labor medicine, occupational rehabilitation and the improvement of overall prosthetic care be forgotten.

We are approaching the health-care employee trade union, urging them to lead the fight against overloading physicians with administrative work which often makes them unable to devote the requisite care to their patients, and to request a substantial improvement in diagnostic care and a more sensitive attitude toward the sick. It is necessary to come out more decisively against instances of the extraction of unwarranted privileges for health-care services which continue to crop up, in conflict with medical ethics.

In connection with the alteration of the prices of certain foodstuffs and of public catering, which workers had accepted as economic necessities, we will devote increased attention to the improvement and primarily the expansion of factory catering. This will be aided by the decision that the personal costs of factory catering will no longer be covered from the cultural and social needs fund, but will gradually be shifted to the budget of the relevant economic organization.

It will be necessary rapidly to establish standards for the equipping of enterprises with factory cafeterias and to see to the carrying out of the essential reconstruction of cafeterias and kitchens which do not conform to hygienic regulations. We cannot allow a situation in which, after an investment of hundreds of millions in production space and facilities, the resources are then inconsiderately cut off for essential social amenities and factory cafeterias, or for their modernization and expansion. We expect that the ministries of retail trade of both republics, which so far have indicated little initiative or interest in this area, will also devote systematic attention to factory catering.

With the shift to cooperative, stabilizational enterprise construction, the responsibility of factory and enterprise committees will increase for the allocation of apartments, in which it is necessary to remember above all worker families, families with a number of children, and young married couples. Factory ROH committees should, precisely in this regard, utilize to a greater extent their rights in the area of concern for employee housing, in the compilation of lists for apartment eligibility, while at the same time not avoiding

often unpopular responsibility. Another important task is the inspection of the outfitting and operation of group hostels, training centers and other factory and enterprise housing facilities.

We want to expand further and raise the quality of the recreational services of the ROH in all of their forms. Given the current substantial restriction on investment limits we will, within the framework of union investment, give preference to the construction of additional modern recreational hotels and expand family recreation with children and recreational stays with rehabilitational purposes. We are counting on the sympathy of the CSSR Government and State Planning Commission for this investment activity, which is so necessary for the renewal of strength and the fortification of the health of workers, and which is fully covered by ROH member dues.

We will also obtain additional unutilized facilities of well-equipped factory recreational hotels for the needs of selective recreation. In enterprise recreation, which forms the most mass-oriented basis of the recreational activities of the ROH, it will be a matter in the upcoming period mainly of the more efficient utilization of existing facilities.

In the selection of participants in recreation, especially for trips abroad, it is necessary to more consistently adhere to the viewpoint of merit and to provide concessions to employees from critical branches and to those from oblasts with an inferior environment.

Exceptional child care is characteristic of our socialist order. Unions also take part in various ways in this joint task. In conjunction with the Czech and Slovak Union Councils, the URO will continue in its conscientious support of the expansion and reconstruction of ROH Pioneer camps. Also, enterprise and factory managements should better meet their responsibilities for the construction and maintenance of Pioneer camps. We want to devote systematic attention, in conjunction with the Pioneer Organization of the Socialist Youth League [SSM] to the choice of educational employees, and to the ideologically educational influence in the Pioneer camps of the ROH, to the expansion of touring and of tent camps, to winter Pioneer camps, as well as to suburban recreation for children during the major holidays.

An important instrument for strengthening socialist work relations is the social control of the maintenance of labor law and wage regulations, which is entrusted to union organs. The positive experiences of past years have shown that we may entrust the performance of social control to all okres union councils and to all central, Czech and Slovak trade union committees.

Nor in this socialist society has the defending of the interests and the rights of employees failed to survive, and is today quite a fact of life. Union organs, and especially factory committees, may not tolerate the violation of the labor code and other regulations. Their task is to create an atmosphere which will make impossible the ignoring of the rights of the working person and a bureaucratic approach to his complaints and needs. If we speak of an uncompromising stance to the violation of social and legal standards, it is also necessary to move more decisively against individuals who work lackadaisically

and damage social property and the good name of the worker and of the socialist employee generally. This is also the direction in which we are going to direct the activity of the arbitration commission which has been formed not only to resolve labor disputes but also to lead the collectives which elect them in the direction of respect for the laws, and to the support of everything that contributes to honorable, conscientious work.

In the administration of enterprise social policy, we have in the recent past shifted from comprehensive enterprise programs of employee welfare to plans of professional, personal and social development which are an inseparable part of the economic plans of factories, enterprises, professions and sectors. These plans, just like the collective agreements, are important documents of the cooperation between the economic management and the union organization in the area of employee welfare. It is, therefore, necessary that they be approved by a member meeting or a conference of the basic organization of the ROH.

The Cultural and Social Needs Fund is an important financial resource for the implementation of the measures established in these plans and in the collective agreements. This is a matter of significant, multibillion-loruna resources which must be expended effectively, and particularly so as to serve, over the long term, entire work collectives.

To improve the work environment, to raise the level of labor culture, and to create favorable conditions outside of work, we will continue to develop member initiative in the project "Unionists for Their Own Factories and Republic."

Comrades, the joint responsibility of union organs and organizations for improving the living conditions of employees away from the workplace, at their place of residence, belongs inseparably to a comprehensive concern for employee welfare. This is a matter of very specific problems such as transportation to work, modifications in the work day, the level of services, day-care centers and kindergartens, and the functioning of the commercial network.

We appreciate the fact that republic union councils, in conjunction with the governments of both republics are devoting increased attention to the supplying of the domestic market, to the quality of goods, and to expanding the product mix in various price groups. Every justified employee comment in this area must become a concern of these union organs and organizations, which should resolve matters in cooperation with national committees. The educational and controlling functions of union organizations in retail trade must be directed at honesty in selling, at the uncovering of speculation and of the exploitation of shortages of certain types of goods.

Material resources are not the only factors that determine how we implement our social program or how the needs of people are met. Such factors as interpersonal relationships, attention to the concerns and problems of others, a comradely atmosphere at workplaces and in daily life are also no less important for the contentment of the individual, for his optimistic outlook on life and his determination at work. These attitudes are determined, for instance, by employees of the transportation system, of the communications network, of services, in the stores, health-care facilities, at national committees, but also

the economic managers and last, but not least, we, the union functionaries. Unions are active at all of these workplaces. And none of us should forget this.

Kraj and okres union councils, when putting together, implementing and evaluating programs of joint measures with kraj and okres national committees, should steer clear of any kind of formalism at all, as well as a low degree of rigorousness, and conscientiously strive to improve the living conditions of employees in accordance with the requirements of a socialist life style.

Environmental protection is a joint task of state and economic agencies, of national committees and union organs and organizations. This is a matter of a continually more serious and urgent problem facing the entire society. As unionists, we can prevent much damage which is caused by the discharge of industrial wastes into the atmosphere and the rivers. Neither factory committees nor union organs may continue to proceed with their eyes closed to the fact that their enterprises or factories have been paying stiff fines every year rather than investing efficiently in protective measures. In such instances, the employees are actually harmed doubly; on the one hand, in terms of economic performance and likewise in terms of their health.

Overall concern for employee welfare is influenced today by substantially more complex economic conditions than in past years. Because of this, however, we are not slacking off, but on the contrary are increasing our efforts. The URO and other union organs will more comprehensively concern themselves with problems of the standard of living, with various aspects of the development of working conditions, living costs and the standard of living of individual groups of workers, especially families with larger numbers of children and retirees.

The fundamental way to limit the unfavorable consequences of world economic development on the living standards of Czechoslovak workers is through consistent struggle for greater efficiency in the national economy, for increasing sophistication in planning, administrative and organizational activities, for active worker participation in management, for improved utilization of the work day, and for comprehensive frugality. Significant underutilized capacity exists everywhere, and by mobilizing this we will make it possible to satisfy the growing needs of society, to assure and to raise the quality of the standard of living we have achieved and to develop a comprehensive concern for employee welfare.

IV. Increasing the Ideological and Cultural Sophistication of Employees

Comrades, the demanding tasks of further socialist construction may be fulfilled only on the precondition that the abilities and the will of our members is mobilized to work for the benefit of the entire society. Practice has shown that a higher level of socialist development also places greater demands on the awareness, education and knowledge of employees, on their social responsibility and discipline, on their spirit, conviction and determination.

The Leninist concept of the role of unions as the schools of communism is inseparable from an education linked not only to the productive activities of people, but also to their class-conscious attitude to the building of socialism and to its defense. The seriousness of the educational mission of the ROH is underscored by the fact that the ranks of the working class and of union organizations are being filled by ever younger generations of people, who were born and have grown up under socialism. They do not have, nor can they have had any personal experience of the political and social struggles with capital, and they are forming their class consciousness in the process of the revolutionary changes of our society, in the new historical conditions of socialist construction, in the struggle of the socialist community and other revolutionary forces with contemporary imperialism. This implies a necessity to devote extraordinary attention to ideological work, to increase the sophistication of the mass political, ideological and culturally educational work in the unions.

Under today's conditions, when the ideological battle between capitalism and socialism is intensifying sharply, unions must also increase their participation in the struggle for the consciousness of the working man, provide him with a firmly grounded world view and a clear class orientation to the complexities and conflicts of the contemporary epoch. It is very important to foster and to strengthen the ideals and feelings of socialist ownership and proletarian internationalism in the minds of workers and, above all, the younger generation.

"In the consciousness of the people," Comrade Husak stated at the 16th CPCZ Congress, "is hidden an immense creative force which is capable of mobilizing society to solve even the most complicated tasks."

Increasing the efficiency of the educational activities of unions requires a firm joining of theory with practice, with social relationships and life style, with the resolution of the problems of mature socialism, with the tasks of individual workplaces, with the daily vital activities of employees and with an awareness of their views.

We are focusing our efforts to see to it that unionists have a good knowledge of the documents of the 16th CPCZ Congress, that employees understand the policy of the CPCZ, and especially its economic policy, that they comprehend its scientific bases and the inevitable nature of the building of a mature socialist society.

The task of mass political work, and especially of economic propaganda, is to mobilize employees to the timely and quality fulfillment of labor tasks. We will tirelessly call to mind what it is that determines the development of our society, and that it is possible to divide among ourselves only those values which we have produced by our common work. We will demonstrate that our life is fully dependent on the way in which we work.

It is, therefore, essential to react promptly to all manifestations of amenability to shortcomings in the fulfillment of planned tasks, to manifestations of personal comfort and indifference to social needs and interests, to dishonesty, lackadaisical behavior and low-quality work, to the damaging of socialist property.

Let us admit that educational activity in union organizations still to a great extent suffers from generality and fragmentariness, fails to assert its own urgency, does not force the individual to come forth with his view. On the contrary, it often leaves him in the role of a nonparticipating observer.

Militant agitation is a powerful weapon of revolutionary unions. The current demanding tasks require even more the ability to win over and captivate workers by the force of believable arguments and by the personal example of leading employees and union functionaries.

Our time, our contemporary life is filled with revolutionary ferment, not only in the political, socioeconomic and scientific-technical spheres, but also in the minds of people. He who has not experienced the capitalist order and considers the achievements of socialism as given rarely comprehends the causes of the problems which we must solve or the necessity of sharing in their difficult mastery. This makes the struggle for the consciousness of the individual longer and more tenacious.

This is also a struggle with our own weaknesses, mistakes and shortcomings, with comfort and routine. Under no circumstances can we allow ourselves to be content with a petty bourgeois attitude, with a parasitical morality, with the inconsiderateness and selfishness of certain individuals who want to take whatever they can from society but give as little as possible to it, who recognize only their own rights and want to know nothing about their responsibilities.

We place great emphasis on increasing the social activity of people. There are more than a few honest, dedicated employees who reliably fulfill the tasks assigned to them and who even devote some of their free time to their factory. Many times, however, they stand apart from the other activities of the workplace. They do not speak out against the low-quality, lackadaisical work of others, even though this harms them. While we respect them greatly for their relationship to their work, at the same time we are interested in having them become socially engaged. The task of union organizations is to patiently win over these comrades, to depend on them, to turn public opinion with their assistance against those who simply live off of the performance of others. The principle is still fully applicable which we emphasized at the session of the Ninth All-Union Congress, that the most efficient education of members is their active incorporation into the life of the union organization, which should be the practical school of socialism.

For the formation and strengthening of the socialist consciousness of employees, their morality and relationship to work, we are emphasizing an extraordinary educational task for work collectives. Union shops, BSP, and other collectives are the best educator, a collective teacher which forms the individual, his thoughts, will and interpersonal dealings. For this reason, education in work collectives is becoming the hub of the entire educational work of the ROH.

The recognition of superior performance by the honorary URO award, "For the Development of Socialist Education," assists significantly in the conscientious, planned organization of politically educational and cultural work at union

shops. We will continue this practice even after the 10th All-Union Congress and attempt to further increase the sophistication of political-educational work at union shops and in BSP.

The political and economic education of ROH members plays an important role in the growth of political and economic knowledge. In this regard, we have done more than a little in recent years. We have fulfilled the task set for us by the Ninth All-Union Congress in the area of developing member education. The results which have been achieved, the experiences and growing requirements for economic knowledge among employees is making it possible for us to move on a broad basis from the current less rigorous forms of education in union shops to schools of socialist labor, which are proving themselves. All of the pre-conditions are in place to assure their further growth in numbers and in sophistication.

Education in union shops, which has included the majority of employees, has fulfilled its mission. This does not mean, however, that we will not persist with educational work in the shops. We want politicoeconomic information to be available here on a regular basis concerning current domestic and foreign political issues. However, it is in the schools of socialist labor that we see the primary and most promising form of member education. Much will depend on the quality and abilities of school administrators and propagandists, and on the way in which the factory ROH committees conduct their preparations.

The ROH is efficiently contributing to a growth in employee education, and is sharing in the development and improvement of the educational and training system, assisting schools in the education of youth, and supporting the study of employees while working. We will foster the interest of members in systematic self-education and encourage them to make use of the possibilities provided them by a socialist society. In cooperation with the Socialist Academy of the CSSR and the Czechoslovak Scientific Technical Society, we will develop still more varied forms of continuing education.

The well-considered education of younger members, and especially of young workers, requires the increased attention of union organs and organizations. We must all be aware of the joint responsibility of union organizations to see to it that young workers are not only professionally, but also politically well prepared for life and work in a socialist society. It is therefore desirable to strengthen the influence of BSP on younger employees and to increase involvement in the cultural content of the free time of young people. At the same time, it is necessary to entrust young, able employees with more responsible tasks in union organizations as well.

An inseparable part of the responsibilities of trade unions is their concern for the way in which the preparation of adolescents is assured for a working profession, for the conditions under which apprenticeship facilities function, for the ways in which the material and social needs of apprentices are met, for the development of many varied forms of initiative, above all the resources of the BSP, for the ways in which the patrons of working youth work. In assuring these tasks we will work more systematically with SSM organizations at factories and training centers.

The education of the younger generation is a matter for the entire ROH, from the URO down to factory and workshop committees and every individual shop steward. We are committed to this by the reality that almost all working youths are organized in the ROH and the fact that unions are actually the largest youth organizations.

The overall educational activity of the unions in relation to their younger members ought to convincingly indicate that we are counting on them and that we are depending on them as the future responsible managers of our socialist homeland.

In the educational work of the unions, we must not forget about working women either, in accordance with the position and role which they occupy in a socialist society and in unions. There is no doubt that it is necessary to increase the number of women in unions, and especially in managerial functions, and to do more to implement a more systematic increase and application of their qualifications and education. It is also necessary to search more energetically for ways to make it possible for working women, and for those who care for a family, to have a rich cultural life and to develop their intellectual interests.

The ROH is creating the broad conditions for a rich cultural life, for the recognition of cultural and artistic values and for artistic creativity itself and the avocational interests of employees. We will strive to see to it that avocational cultural and artistic activity is focused on the intensification of the individual ability to assimilate the best artistic values in such a way as to comprehensively develop one's personality and so that this will be manifested in his daily creative activities, in a deepening of a socialist life style.

An important role falls to the cultural facilities of the ROH, to factory clubs, houses of culture and union libraries. This is an extensive and meritorious activity. The basic requirements for its effectiveness is a high level of ideological and artistic sophistication, the convincing of the greatest possible number of employees to participate in the organization of cultural life, a close relationship to the work collectives of factories, an active contribution to the fulfillment of ROH tasks. Nor can we overlook the requirement of rationality and conservation-consciousness in the utilization of material and financial resources. We will, therefore, place still greater demands on all administrative organs, on the employees and functionaries of cultural facilities.

In cooperation with the Czechoslovak Physical Education Union and with other organizations we will continue to develop varied and attractive physical education activities with the objective of winning over more employees to active recreation and healthy movement. In the broad, volunteer activity of union functionaries we see a guarantee that recreational physical activity will develop in upcoming years as a significant factor in education, especially among the younger ROH members.

Demanding tasks also await the union press. We are still not making sufficient use of this important instrument to influence all organizations, all functionary groups, all of our members. It is essential to expand the circulation of union

newspapers and periodicals so that they reach those who can glean suggestions from them for their own work. We recognize that the editorial offices of the union press and the union publishing house are attempting to increase the educational and politically educational role of newspapers, periodicals and books. The daily, PRACE, even though its profile and level have become more assertive recently should, along with the Slovak daily, PRACA, more immediately and definitively react to the actual tasks of the ROH. The attention devoted to union issues by the party press, especially RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA is a great help to the ROH. We are happy to state that the television and radio as well as the National Front organization's press provide systematic information concerning the work of the ROH.

The fulfillment of the educational function of socialist unions is conditioned by a unity of word and deed, a unity of political-organizational and political-educational work. This requirement is particularly applicable today. If, in the daily struggle for the consciousness of people, we consistently unite efforts toward positive economic results with a concern for the needs and living standards of workers, with their socialist education, then we will be more successful in our work. The participation of each of our citizens will increase in the formation of social resources, in the comprehensive advance of socialism.

V. Strengthening Union Unity, Capacity for Action and Authority

Comrades, intensifying the tasks of the ROH, its position in the political system of society, and the successful fulfillment of individual functions is unthinkable without the continual improvement of the internal life of unions, without intensifying the organizational and administrative activities of union organizations, without developing the activity of basic organizations and members.

Since the Ninth All-Union Congress we have achieved an increase in the activity of the basic organizations and members, an increase in the level and effectiveness of political-organizational work and the development of internal union life in accordance with the bylaws. Greater regularity of member meetings at union shops, in workshop and basic organizations has made it possible for members to take part in decisionmaking on important issues of the work and life of the collective, for them to come forth with their critical comments and suggestions and to contribute to the organization's fulfillment of its tasks. There has also been success in improving the annual plans for activities, which focus the activity of the basic organizations on the main, common objectives of our movement.

The highest union organs-- the URO, the presidium, and the secretariat and URO commissions-- have systematically concerned themselves with the basic tasks of the ROH in all the areas of union responsibility. We have concentrated our attention on the fulfillment of the basic union functions under the most demanding conditions, on improving work techniques, on increasing the implementational capabilities of union, all-union and basic organizations.

The shortcomings which have prompted the justified criticisms of members have been taken up at the 7th, 10th and 12th URO Plenums, and we have adopted, among other things, a complex of measures aimed at improving union work, at the full development of ROH activities as revolutionary, truly socialist unions. In addition, a majority of all-union and union organs, and a significant portion of the basic organizations have carefully discussed the most important issues of union activity.

The question of how in the future we will develop internal union democracy, of how we will implement a Leninist style and techniques of administrative and organizational work, of how we will rid ourselves of formalism, routine and bureaucratic attitudes depend on the fuller utilization of the rich creative activity of our members. The objective is clear: It consists in the unification and focusing of the activity and initiatives of organs, organizations and ROH members on the fulfillment of the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

Experience has taught us that good resolutions and proper directives are not enough to improve political-organizational work, if one is unable to implement them in practice. By the same token, experience has taught us that the clumsy, slow and inconsistent implementation of resolutions adopted by the URO and shortcomings in the controlling activities of the executive organs of URO weaken the entire administrative process. Thus, we adopt proper resolutions, but a specific, concrete and consistent approach to their fulfillment is often lacking.

Most of our 1.75 million functionaries are dedicated employees, participate actively in meetings and demonstrate the determination and will to solve problems. The reflection of this activity in an increase in the sophistication of union work is not, however, what we all would wish. The results do not correspond completely to the needs, or to the effort which is expended. This is why we place such emphasis on a fundamental task-- to improve the sophistication of administrative and organizational work, thereby increasing both its efficiency and the tempo of union activity.

In accordance with the course of congress preparation, we can state that the great majority of members place a positive evaluation on the role of ROH, but that many of them hold the view that the unions do not react flexibly enough to new phenomena in the development of society and to the needs of employees, that at times they do not have enough courage and strength to defend their interests. Following the 10th All-Union Congress, we must immediately speed up and intensify the process of improving ROH activities from top to bottom, to the basic organizations. Only in this way will we strengthen the trust of employees in union organizations, only in this way will we stimulate them to initiative taking work and to participation in union life.

A constant task for union organs at all levels remains the strengthening and decisive defense of the unity of revolutionary unions. We are focusing all of our work to this end and will utilize all possibilities for this purpose.

Highly effective for unification of the entire movement are activity plans, aggregated programmatic documents of organizations for a period of a year. To

the extent that some of the activity plans of basic organizations still suffer from excessive generality, to the extent that these plans do not react to problems with which the collective is grappling, then this is caused by the fact that the proper attention has not been devoted to their preparation, to an evaluation of the results of and shortcomings in union work. It is necessary to discuss tasks with work collectives, to draw on the findings and experiences of a broad spectrum of functionaries and members. Only in this way will we assure a substantial improvement in the quality of these project documents.

In the future, the central committees of trade unions should assure that the basic organizations, in addition to the main orientation of the activities of the entire movement, also know the branch tasks, so that they can pay more attention to a specific situation at a factory, in a work collective, or in a union organization.

Okres and kraj union organs are responsible for improving the consideration and assurance of effective assistance to the basic organizations of the ROH in the formulation of activity plans.

Factory committees are to base their efforts on the findings of mass political work, on their awareness of the opinions, attitudes and needs of employees. They are to discuss the concept of the activity plan at a joint session of the ROH factory committee and the factory management before its approval at a member meeting.

The final outcome of union work depends on the activity of the mass of members, on the work of the more than 27,000 basic organizations, 150,000 commissions of factory committees and workshop committees, and of the more than 250,000 union shops. Informal member activity is, however, possible on the condition that it is in accord not only with the objectives and program of the ROH, but also with the activities of its own basic organization. Otherwise the organization is not fulfilling its mission as it should. In particular, member meetings, which form the broadest base for the democratic participation of members in the life of the organization, are often marked by formalism. Many functionaries and members, to be sure, cite this phenomenon critically, but little is being done to eliminate it. It should make us uncomfortable that some functionaries have come to terms with formalism and consider it to be a normal phenomenon.

The fact that since the Ninth All-Union Congress we have succeeded in providing for the regular scheduling of member meetings has created the organizational preconditions for a broader implementation of member rights, for the expression of their opinions and attitudes, for an increase in their participation in the evaluation of activities and in the administration of basic organizations.

This may in no way, however, lead us to the conclusion that everything is in order. The fundamental issue is, you see, the content and sophistication of the meetings, the openness, the constructiveness of the discussions, their degree of influence on union work and on the resolution of economic, social and ideologicopolitical issues at the workplace. And it is precisely in these areas that there are serious shortcomings. The annual member meetings and conferences showed that the meetings do not always reflect the tasks of the workplace, the life and problems of the collective, or the urgency with which it

is necessary to resolve the needs and justified demands of employees. This is undoubtedly also influenced by the fact that factory ROH committees and higher union organs often are not aware of the comments and suggestions of the members and therefore cannot react appropriately to them.

More than one union and other functionary in a position of responsibility has forgotten that it is essential sensitively and in a qualified manner to react to the comments and criticisms of employees. They respond to them in many instances generally and formally. And it is completely unacceptable when some comments go completely unnoticed. Principles for timely and responsible action on employee comments, which are important for higher union organs and for basic organizations, have only very slowly been implemented in practice.

It is, therefore, our responsibility to institute corrective measures, and to assure that union organs and functionaries react properly to the flow of member views, and that they are able to harness and to direct, while at the same time stimulating initiative-taking attitudes by members to the discussion of the main issues of the life of the organization and the workplace.

Union shops have an ever greater importance for the unification of opinions and attitudes of employees and for the resolution of their daily problems. By their very nature, by the informality of the relationships and the common occupational tasks of the members, they create favorable conditions for concrete political, ideologicoeducational, mass-oriented production-related and organizational work, and for the strengthening of internal union democracy. With the gradual implementation of the Set of Measures and the application of counter-planning and kholzraschet, the activity of union shops increases in importance. The demands also clearly increase on their organizers, the shop stewards.

At the annual member meetings prior to the 10th All-Union Congress, many able, politically and morally mature members with exemplary work records and natural authority within work collectives were elected to the function of shop steward. We will strive to assure greater stability among these functionaries and to see to an improvement in their preparation for daily, effective, mass-oriented political work. The attention of factory and workshop committees must be devoted to all shop stewards, but especially to those who have first been elected to this function. We will continue to strengthen the position and role of the union shop and the shop steward as the direct representative of the union collective.

The greatest tasks in the improvement of the work of basic organizations await the factory committees and their chairmen in particular. The techniques and style of internal union work and the level of cooperation with the economic leadership influence the work of workshop organizations, individual commissions, union shops and the activity of the member base. Findings from the preceding period have indicated that it is above all desirable that they come to terms with their responsibilities and duties and that they effectively utilize their considerable rights.

We expect that factory committees will increase the sophistication of their mass-oriented political work, that they will intensify their contact with work

collectives, that they will more completely recognize their opinions and comments, and more decisively interpret these to the economic organs.

It is likewise essential to prepare conscientiously joint discussions with factory management in such a way that they fulfill their functions of being a constructive dialog in the interest of the unified resolution of key economic tasks, working conditions, and employee needs. At the same time, it is proper that the director take part in the discussions of serious issues at the factory committee, and that important problems be presented for solution to the management of the workshop, factory or enterprise. This is a reliable way to overcome the lack of activity by certain factory committees.

More efficient and better qualified assistance from higher union organs is supposed to contribute to the development of the activity of factory ROH committees. It is necessary rapidly to put an end to the burdening of ROH factory committee functionaries with nonessential administrative work, with unjustified requests for the compilation of reports and announcements, which the higher organs often substitute for their own systematic fact-finding activity, and which they often do not even use properly.

The greater demands on union work must be more consistently integrated into the preparation and training of functionaries. Union officials should be capable of reacting independently to a situation at a factory, of comprehensively evaluating a situation and the tasks for union work, and of drawing conclusions from this as to the relationship to managerial organs and for its own union activity. Functionary training must be based on a solid theoretical foundation, and must lead them to independent creative thinking, and equip them with the requisite knowledge to perform administrative union work and for daily contact with people.

The ROH has, today, a stable, effective system of functionary preparation, beginning with training at the centers for unionist education in the basic organizations right up through the Antonin Zapotocky Central ROH School and the Frantisek Zupka Slovak Union School. In the programs of functionary training and in the curricula at both schools it is necessary to strengthen not only political, but also professional union preparation, so that functionaries have a comprehensive knowledge of union rights and their duties, so that they are knowledgeable concerning labor law, wage and other regulations, and so that they will always be on top of the tasks which are being resolved in their organizations and in discussions with the economic leadership.

The complexity and scope of the work of ROH organs cannot be dealt with without a permanent union apparatus. Without its activities, it is impossible to imagine the work of a 7-million-member organization and its improvement. The number of functionaries in the union apparatus had a moderately rising tendency during the seventies. After the congress, we intend to study the current systematization and location of the apparatus so that it will be as close as possible to the basic organizations, which are the immediate executors of union tasks.

The effectiveness of the work of the union apparatus does not depend only on the number of its employees, but also on the appropriateness of its structure and on the quality of its work. Even though most comrades work in a dedicated fashion, there are also those who spend very little time in the basic organizations and among people, but rather dream up and circulate unnecessary written directives. It is necessary to state openly that the political and professional preparation of a certain percentage of the employees of the apparatus has not corresponded to the high demands which are placed at the present time on them and especially on the unattached functionaries.

We will increase the quality of the work of the apparatus. This is an important task, but we can never lose sight of the fact that the weight of union work will always rest on the dedicated, voluntary activity of hundreds of thousands of functionaries. We will depend on these people, and we must also assist them in as many ways as possible.

It is our judgment that the results of the elections at the annual member meetings and conferences, and at the all-union and union conferences and congresses, marked a further step in raising the quality of and strengthening the functionary corps. However, it is still necessary to avoid a mechanical and superficial approach to the choice of ROH functionaries and, when recommending them for a position, to link the criterion of political and moral maturity to the requirement for high work performance, ability and authority within the work collective.

The organizational structure of the ROH assists in the balanced fulfillment of its functions. It requires that every union organ consistently and creatively fulfill the task which has been assigned to it. The great rigorousness of the socioeconomic program of the 16th CPCZ Congress logically increases the demands on the work of trade unions which is, from the viewpoint of assuring union participation, absolutely indispensable. Greater demands also stem from the improved planned management system of the national economy. In particular, we are demanding a more active approach to the fulfillment of their tasks by the highest union organs. The URO is once again urgently pointing out the growing significance and responsibility of the trade unions. It is worth a more detailed examination of the experience of unions in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries, where the role of the unions has become sharply evident, while at the same time their position has been strengthened within the entire union structure.

In those branches of the national economy which are ordered and administered along professional lines, we will develop the function of professional and enterprise committees and deepen their activity. Central and republic trade union committees are responsible for seeing to it that these largely new organs fulfill their mission and do not merely become an additional element complicating an already sufficiently complex union mechanism.

Significant tasks are also falling to all-union organs, from which we are requiring a further improvement in their unification, coordination and management activities. Kraj and okres union councils are today equipped so that they

can more decisively carry out their function as the bearer of the political and organizational unity of the unions under kraj and okres conditions. And technical assistance for basic organizations continues to remain an important component of their political-organizational and administrative work. They should systematically monitor, evaluate and take the necessary measures concerning the effectiveness of this assistance.

In any event, the kraj and okres union councils must, in close cooperation with kraj and okres national committees, more decisively and emphatically participate in the comprehensive resolution of issues concerning territorial development, transportation, services, housing, culture and other sectors with the objective of improving the living conditions of employees.

The organizational unity of the ROH is based on the bylaws which define the rights and duties of members, the main tasks and functions of union organs, and the relationships between them. The 10th All-Union Congress will be presented, for its evaluation and approval, with a proposal for individual changes and supplements to the bylaws. We approached these with the awareness that the bylaws approved by the Eighth Congress and modified by the Ninth Congress have basically proven themselves and correspond to the current stage of construction of a mature socialist society. The proposed alterations reflect changes which will occur particularly in the administration and planning of the development of the national economy and its structure.

In addition, we want to emphasize in the bylaws the role of trade unions and their organs, including professional and enterprise committees, in the fulfillment of the main functions of the ROH under the conditions of the individual sectors of the national economy. In conjunction with this, the responsibility of central committees for a unified approach by all union organs should be emphasized.

As we have already mentioned, changes in the resolutions concerning basic organizations are meant to underscore the role of union shops and the position of the shop stewards as the organizers and permanently elected representatives of these collectives.

Additional modifications concern the functions of inspection commissions. This is a matter of strengthening their position so that they can concentrate fully on their main task, the inspection of the management of the appropriate agency, so as to avoid the misuse of union resources and to be sure that the financial resources of the ROH are utilized economically and effectively.

A high level of union organization and discipline in the payment of dues assures the basic organizations and their supervisory organs with sufficient financial resources to carry out all union functions. Union property and the income from member dues continue to grow. This means that we are even more obligated to expend them responsibly. The URO will consistently see to it that the use of dues contributes lasting benefits to the ever wider circle of our members.

The intensity and effectiveness of political-organizational work, the intensification of internal union democracy, the improvement of the organizational structure, greater sophistication in the work of the apparatus and, particularly, an expansion of volunteer activity will all determine the extent to which the sophistication of union work will increase, our success in strengthening the unity and capacity for action of ROH, in increasing union authority among its members, employees and the entire society. This corresponds to the interests of the working class and of all employees and is in accordance with what is expected of us by the CPCZ.

VI. Strengthening Ties of International Solidarity and Class Unity with the International Trade Union Movement

Comrades, it is with dissatisfaction that we must state that in comparison with our previous congress we are now living in a much more complicated international political situation, which is evoking serious fears as to the further development of international relations. World imperialism, in its attempts to gain military superiority over the USSR and the entire socialist community, is stepping up its war preparations and producing ever more destructive weapons with which it is threatening human civilization. The Reagan administration is vehemently asserting the interests of the military-industrial complex, and under the doctrine of limited nuclear war wants to change Europe into an atomic battlefield. American imperialism continues to repress revolutionary, national liberation, and democratic movements and human rights in all parts of the world. At the same time it is boldly attacking the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as well as revolutionary and democratic forces. It is attempting to ruin the results of detente, to raise international tensions and to place obstacles in the way of peaceful cooperation between countries. It is arrogating unto itself the right to meddle crudely in the domestic affairs of socialist countries with the objective of destabilizing our social order. It is opposing the inalienable right of the Polish people to defend the socialist order in their country from the counterrevolutionary plot which had been established under its patronage.

The peaceful policy of the Soviet Union shows the way to preventing the realization of the dangerous plans of the most reactionary imperialist forces. The peace program of the CPSU, formulated for current conditions at the 26th CPSU Congress was welcomed by progressive people the world over. The Czechoslovak people are also in full accord with it. Further evidence of the untiring peaceful efforts and goodwill of the USSR was provided by L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the 17th Congress of Soviet Unions, and his constructive proposals directed at assuring an agreement on the most pressing issues of disarmament. The principled speech of Comrade Brezhnev strengthened the hopes of mankind for avoiding a nuclear catastrophe.

We have expressed our complete agreement with the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, that to preserve peace and favorable conditions for the building of a socialist society we will do everything in our power, in close conjunction with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. And our greatest interest is in strengthening the security of the CSSR and the entire socialist community. We will attempt to assure the implementation of all peaceful initiatives which

may be jointly worked out and presented by the socialist countries and to see to it that the aggressive imperialist forces do not succeed in overturning the current military-strategic parity and realize their adventurist plans.

Nor for us, unionists, is there anything more important than defending the cause of peace!

The major focus of the international activities of the ROH will continue to be the multilateral development and deepening of ties with unions in the USSR and the other socialist countries, the basis of which are the principles of socialist internationalism, common objectives and interests in the building of socialism, the defense of peace and the security of peoples. We fully support the exhortation of the 17th Congress of Soviet Unions to the workers and unions of the entire world to a common struggle for peace. This congress was an inspiring demonstration of the rich experiences of our Soviet friends in all phases of union activity, which we will make use of in our daily work.

The many forms taken by exchanges of experiences and the cooperation of unions is contributing to the further development and strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries, to the development of the national economies of individual countries and of the entire community. Our enemies are also aware of this, and have not given up their attempts to break down the ties of community among the socialist countries. To achieve its objectives, the counterrevolution utilizes everything, including demagogery, insults, and all kinds of tricks. So-called labor leaders, especially prepared by the imperialist intelligence services, have had, and always have the task of breaking the workers party and the unified revolutionary unions. For them it is a matter of making normal work and daily life impossible, bringing a country to chaos and anarchy, to civil war and back to capitalism.

We will not permit the enemies of socialism to weaken and fragment the unity and cooperation of our countries. They will not even be successful in doing this in the People's Republic of Poland [PRL]. The frustration of the counter-revolutionary plans of antisocialist forces prevented a national catastrophe and created the conditions for a strengthening of the socialist order, legality and the defense of the vital interests of the Polish people. We fully approve of these measures and will continue to support morally and materially those unionists and other forces in the PRL for whom it is a matter of a socialist renewal of the country on the proven principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The ROH, faithful to proletarian internationalism and international union solidarity, has always stood and will continue to stand on the side of progressive unions, national liberation, anti-imperialist and democratic movements in the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We decisively support their struggle against imperialism and reaction, for political, national and economic independence, for democracy and social progress. From our congress we send militant comradely greetings to all who have set themselves in opposition to imperialist domination, to all who are resisting the aggression of the United States, Israel and South Africa. We declare our solidarity with the suffering Salvadoran people and with the Palestinians, who are being denied the right to a bare existence.

We will continue to provide effective, concrete assistance to all those who are forced to do battle with imperialism. This includes the training of cadres in various seminars and courses which we will continue to organize upon the request of fraternal organizations.

We will expand and deepen bilateral relations with the unions of developing countries which have decided on the path of socialist development. We will further activate these ties, especially with unions in Afghanistan, Ethiopia, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Nicaragua, Angola and Mozambique, so that they may become acquainted with the results and experiences of Czechoslovak workers, with union practice under the conditions of real socialism.

In the same way, we will in the future strengthen our class solidarity and co-operation with unionists in the capitalist countries and support their struggle against unemployment, increasing inflation and their ruthless exploitation by multinational monopolies. We will continue to expand ties with class-conscious, progressive union organizations in Western Europe, and with members of the WFTU.

We are aware that far from everywhere in the world do unionists have the possibility to freely develop their activities as they do in Czechoslovakia and in other socialist countries.

Even in the mature capitalist countries many of our comradely organizations must overcome difficult obstacles daily and defend the union rights and the interests of the people at great risk. In some countries, their legal activity is completely impossible, union functionaries are subjected to brutal repression, are jailed, tortured and killed. Their struggle is our struggle as well, and we experience their heroic struggle with them. We stand faithfully by their side and express to them from the podium of this congress our full support.

Comrades, the ROH plays an active role in the strengthening of the capacity for action of the WFTU and its influence among workers. As the host country, we feel a special responsibility for the activities of the WFTU. We will continue to participate in the work of this class-conscious, democratic and mass-oriented organization, in the publicizing of its objectives, in the development of projects of concrete support for the social struggles of workers on all the continents.

Two months ago there took place in Havana, in the capital city of the first socialist country in the western hemisphere, the 10th World Trade Union Congress. It was a manifestation of the militant capacity for action of the international trade union movement. This most representative of world associations of unionists once again documented the actual possibility of creating a broad based united front of fighters against imperialism, for peace and disarmament, for the rights of workers and for the elimination of exploitation throughout the world.

In the interest of strengthening the active unity in the struggle of workers for understanding, friendship and peace, the ROH is also prepared to develop ties with unions of different ideological orientation and other international

affiliations. We will base these ties, at the same time, on the current level of ties and on the common interest in constructive dialog. How this dialog will develop, however, does not depend wholly on us. We believe that we have on more than one occasion demonstrated goodwill and the effort to find such common ground as corresponds to the interests of all workers.

We want to implement consistently the conclusions of international, world and regional meetings such as, for instance, the European Trade Union Conference, and we are prepared in the future to approach these in a spirit of active participation. We consider the results of last year's Fourth European Trade Union Conference to be especially important. We are convinced that the issues of peace and disarmament, of the development and application of science and technology, of the role of trade unions in developing trade between East and West concern to the same extent trade union organizations of various persuasions and are a good basis for a constructive exchange of views.

This issue is closely connected with our activity within the ILO. We will continue to push for the democratization of the structure of this organization, so that it becomes a forum for the defense of the interests of workers. The international situation demands the improvement of the forms of our activity particularly in branch committees and in other organs of the ILO.

The revolutionary tradition of the Czechoslovak working class movement has always been linked with faithfulness to proletarian internationalism and worker solidarity. We are a firm component of world revolutionary forces. We consider it to be our loftiest responsibility to further strengthen the active unity of the international trade union movement and thereby contribute to new victories in the historical struggle for progress and peace, for the defense of the basic right of the working person, the right to life.

Conclusion

Comrades, on balance, the results of the activities of the ROH in the past 5 years, under the leadership of the CPCZ, have been favorable.

Even though we were aware, 5 years ago, of the difficulty in the further implementation of the general line for the building of a mature socialist society, the reality turned out to be much harsher than we had expected. Thanks to the fact that our organization had the support of the CPCZ, that it was unified and depended on an immense corps of dedicated, volunteer functionaries and members, it always found within itself the strength to come to terms with the tasks which accompanied the more complicated domestic and foreign conditions. At the same time it also drew the needed conclusions from the shortcomings in its own work. Today we can say that the ROH came out of this test of its maturity successfully, that it is a powerful, capable organization, filled with the determination still more decisively to fulfill its mission in socialist society.

Our 10th Congress is an anniversary congress. We are convinced that in the 37-year history of the ROH, it truly ranks among those congresses which have meant significant progress in the work of trade unions and have carved themselves out a place in the modern history of the Czechoslovak revolutionary workers movement.

The broad range of activities between now and the 11th All-Union Congress include the fundamental objectives which we want to achieve and in which we see the contribution of the ROH to the development of the political, economic, social and cultural achievements of our workers, to the realization of the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

We propose that in the congress resolution the following objectives be established for the upcoming years:

1. the intensification of the joint responsibility of trade unions for the realization of the policy of the CPCZ, for the strengthening of the power of the working class, for the development of the political system of socialism, and an increase in the role of the ROH in society;
2. the wider development of the creative potential of the working class and of other workers to assure the economic development of society;
3. improvement of the concern for the working and living conditions of the working class and of all working people;
4. an increase in the ideological and cultural sophistication of workers;
5. strengthening of the unity, capability for action, and authority of trade unions;
6. strengthening of the bonds of international solidarity and class community with the international trade union movement in the interest of the victory of peace and social progress.

To fulfill these objectives, to turn them into concrete deeds, will not be easy. It will be difficult work. We are living in a complex time and it will be essential to overcome many difficulties.

Our determination, however, is unwavering. It grows from the awareness that we are struggling for a just cause, for the hopes and the fundamental interests of the working people, for the program of the CPCZ.

We enter the upcoming days with the conviction that the tasks we have outlined for ourselves will be mastered. We are depending on the elan of millions of our members, on the large corps of experienced and dedicated functionaries prepared to overcome any obstacle at all and to give their strength, consciousness and militant heart to the success of our joint enterprise.

We are deeply convinced that in the future as well we will be able to depend upon the trust and assistance of the CPCZ, which is opening with its Marxist-Leninist policy a broad expanse for the development of the tasks of trade unions in a socialist society.

We will enter into future work with the proud awareness that we are linked by unbreakable bonds of friendship and unity with the Soviet Union and its heroic

people. We will derive strength from our cooperation with Soviet trade unions and strengthen our fraternal unity with them.

We will likewise strengthen our international ties with the unions of the other socialist countries in the interest of the further development of the entire socialist community, which stands at the head of the worldwide struggle for understanding among peoples, for progress and peace.

We will approach additional activities with the awareness of our binding international responsibility, with the awareness that we constitute an inseparable component of world revolutionary forces, of a broad front of the progressive international trade union movement.

We will honorably fulfill the expectations of the millions of our members, we will strive even more decisively to strengthen the day-to-day certainties of the working class and of all working people.

To the full extent and over their entire breadth, we will develop the role of trade unions in accordance with their historical mission.

We will work still more decisively for the further expansion of socialism, for the flowering of our socialist homeland.

9276
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ WEEKLY ATTACKS POLISH POPE'S IDEAS

AU211251 [Editorial Report] Prague TRIBUNA No 14 in Czech on 7 April on pages 8 and 9 carries the first of two parts of Josef Karola's 3,000-word article "The Idea of So-called Christian Europe in the Plans of Clerical Anticommunism." The article opens by noting that "political clericalism plays an extraordinarily important role in the global plans of world anti-communism," and--referring to the conclusions of the 1979 Berlin ideological conference of European communist and workers parties--calls the "onslaught of contemporary Catholicism" a "grave political reality that requires the concentrated attention to the Marxist-Leninist theoretical front and the international revolutionary workers movement."

As the author goes on to say, a special place in the "global strategy" of present-day Catholicism is held by the "revived idea of so-called Christian Europe" and, in this context, by the Vatican's Ostpolitik.

Characterizing the Vatican's Ostpolitik, Karola notes that in formulating it, Cardinal Casaroli--whom he regards as its architect--proceeded from the recognition of the socialist countries' growing influence on international life. He goes on to say: "However, one must not infer from this that the Vatican has recognized the 'historical permanency of the socialist system.' It seems rather as if it only, in its own way, took notice of the reality of socialism. Even though the Vatican's original Ostpolitik encountered and still encounters reservations or even resistance on the part of ultraconservative forces (F. J. Strauss, M. Lefebre, representatives of revanchist circles in the FRG, the World Congress of Slovaks and the like reproach it, for example, for having been 'caught in the mesh of the communist governments' political strategy'), this does not mean that it has lost sight of the church's global interests.

"On the contrary, these interests have always been and remain the decisive feature of the Vatican's political activity with respect to the socialist countries, in which it is trying in all possible ways to expand the scope for the local churches beyond the limits of the socialist legal order."

The article then turns to the changes in the Vatican's Ostpolitik under Pope John Paul II. Karola notes the promotion of Cardinal Casaroli to the post of secretary of state, viewing this as an indication of a continuation of the

Vatican's Ostpolitik, but adds: "However, this does not even remotely answer the question that invariably comes to mind in this context, whether Pope John Paul II intends to implement the Vatican's Ostpolitik in its original, more or less realistic form.

"Even today it is beyond any doubt that the sociopolitical beliefs and attitudes of John Paul II have introduced very substantial corrections into the Vatican's Ostpolitik. Their common feature is a pronounced escalation of anticommunism and (which is the other side of the same coin) of clericalist claims.

"It is highly probable that it was precisely the modification of the Vatican's 'Ostpolitik' in the spirit of militant Catholicism that was in the background of the anticipation of those forces of world anticommunism that influenced the election of the successor for the late Pope John Paul I."

To buttress this suspicion, Karola then quotes a passage from Jo Mutterge's book "Where Is Poland Heading," in which the Luxembourg author attributes Wojtyla's election to the influence of Zbigniew Brzezinski on the American cardinals (next to the influence of the West German cardinals Ratzinger and Hoeffner, and the Austrian Cardinal Koenig) and in which he notes "open calls for a tougher policy toward the countries of Eastern Europe" and an "exacerbation of church-state relations in Poland" following the election of the Polish pope." In view of what has by now leaked to the public from behind-the-scenes of the conclave that placed K. Wojtyla at the head of the Catholic Church, it would be absolutely careless to ignore or even belittle the political impact of the revived idea of a 'Christian Europe', " Karola adds.

To illustrate the importance ascribed by the Polish pope to this idea of "Christian Europe," Karola then quotes the pope's 1979 Gnezdo speech in which he described himself as an embodiment of the "spiritual unity of Christian Europe, which merges two great traditions--that of the East and the West," and notes the emphasis placed by him on saints of Slavic origin. In this connection, Karola refers to the "very keen attention" paid by John Paul II to the recent anniversaries of the Polish St Stanis-Laus and the Czech St John of Nepomuk, and says that "their historical picture was drawn in linkage and coordination with the anticommunist campaign in defense of human rights and liberties." He also mentions the pope's recent message devoted to the anniversary of the Slav Apostles St Cyril and St Methodius, and notes that "it became an inspiration for activating clericalist anticommunism and escalating the ideological claims of the Catholic Church."

In the second part of his article, published in TRIBUNA's issue No 15 on 14 April on page 3, Karola first interprets the idea of a spiritual unity of Christian Europe championed by Pope John Paul II as "indirect support for the clericalist designs to unite Europe on Christian foundations," and detects "points of contact" between this idea and the Christian Democratic concept of United Europe propagated by "militant anticommunists" such as Franz Josef Strauss or Otto Habsburg. Karola also notes a contradiction between this idea of the pope and "the repeated declarations of the Catholic Church that it does not want to interfere in political affairs."

Further on in the article, Karola reviews various recent church seminars and conferences devoted to "propagating the idea of Christian Europe," and notes the prominent role played in them by the Polish Episcopate and bishops. In this context he says:

"The expansionist plans of Polish clericalism are a special chapter that deserves more detailed study. Although it is true that some high-ranking representatives of the Catholic Church in Poland had, in their own way, realized the profundity of the danger of the so-called Polish religious-national Messianism (such as, for example, the former Wroclaw Metropolitan Cardinal Boleslaw Kominek had), their warnings have been forgotten, however. Of the present, the revival of this aggressive crusade-like tradition is more typical.

"The Polish Catholic Messianism, resting on the thesis that 'the religious moral system is the basic prerequisite for personal and social order,' does not lay claim to forming the fate of one's own country only, but is also oriented outwards, toward the whole of Europe becoming Christian. For example, the West German Cardinal J. Ratzinger, during the ongoing crisis of the Polish society, expressed himself in the sense that the 'struggle' of the Catholic Church in Poland is 'decisive for the interests of the Catholic Church in the whole of Eastern Europe'....

"Thus the evangelistic mission of the Polish Messianic Catholicism also keeps in mind the external interests of the church; that is, 'converting other nations' or 'defending Catholic nations' against the 'threat of spreading atheism.' There is no doubt about the aggressiveness of these endeavors, abiding by the 'idea of cultural-religious cohesion of Slavs on the basis of Christian pan-Slavism.'

"The Messianism of the concept of 'Christian Europe' is, without doubt, hidden also between the lines of the infamous message addressed by the last year's so-called 'Solidarity' congress to 'workers' of Eastern Europe. It is well-known that this assembly of antisocialist forces had the overt sympathies and spiritual support of the highest church circles at home and abroad.

"The bourgeois press has never been disguising that anticomunist forces would like to make Polish clericalism a springboard for the realization of destabilization plans in the other socialist countries. In this scenario not everything is obvious at first glance, many contexts are disguised and only a certain lapse of time will reveal them.

"Although the program of the 'Christian Europe,' respectively its 'evangelization', is presented as a purely religious affairs, there cannot be the slightest doubt about its political goals. After all, the 'political dimension' of evangelization is foreseen in the same authoritative papal document, the EVANGELII NUNTIANDI, which puts its religious character in the foreground. In accordance with the conclusions of the Second Vatican Council, it imposes on church members evangelization duties in specifically enumerated spheres of social life, among which the political sphere is in the first place."

Summing up, Karola says: "It must be stressed in conclusion that the demand for 'evangelizing Europe' is an important part of the plans of the Catholic Church for ideological and political infiltration. The 'Euro-Christian' concept cannot be separated from phenomena such as the Vatican's endeavor to legalize antistate opposition in socialist countries, its attempts at paralyzing the activity of clergymen expressing their support for the socialist development, and its efforts to activate clergymen and laymen under the slogan of the struggle for 'religious freedom.'

"The stepped up clericalist endeavor to establish some sort of an integrating 'All-European awareness' on the basis of Christianity undeniably dovetails with the global anticomunist strategy. Thereby it contributes to reviving historically obsolete tendencies that undermine the process of normalization on the European continent in the spirit of the final act of the Helsinki conference."

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

CIVIL-RIGHTS ACTIVISTS RELEASED--Vienna, 28 Mar (DPA)--Three civil-rights activists, who have been imprisoned for a long time, have been released in Czechoslovakia. They were part of a group of about 18 members of the civil-rights movement "Charter 77" arrested in May last year and who were recently released from custody. This emerged on Friday from emigrant circles in Vienna. The civil-rights activists were arrested in connection with the apprehension of two French citizens who had allegedly tried to smuggle banned publications and currency into the CSSR. The CSSR authorities accused the civil-rights activists of having known of these "subversive actions". [Text] [LD281154 Hamburg DPA in German 1109 GMT 28 May 82]

AFRICANS ATTEND SEMINAR--A 6-week seminar for trade union functionaries from French-speaking African nations was inaugurated on 26 May at the Neratovice branch of the ROH (Revolutionary Trade Union Movement) Central School. Attending the opening ceremony were Secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions V. Kozik, Deputy Director of the Antonin Zapotocky ROH Central School Frantisek Prevorovsky and representatives of the District Trade Union Council from Melnik. [Prague PRACE in Czech 27 May 82 p 3]

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SPECIAL BORDER TROOP ORDERS FOR EMERGENCIES ANALYZED

Munich BAYERNKURIER in German Vol 33 No 16, 17 Apr 82 p 5

[Article by Horst Guenter Tolmein: "'GDR' Border Troops: Guardians of the Border of Shame--The Militarization Marches on"]

[Text] The Border Troops of the 'GDR' are waging war even in peacetime. Once again someone has been shot and presumed killed by the border soldiers: a man who crossed the border fence on 29 March at Bad Sooden-Allendorf.

Yet what is the function of the 'GDR' border soldiers in wartime? It is just this question which is answered in the "Restricted Confidential Document VVS-No G 572 910" of the "Border Troops of the German Democratic Republic, Border Regiment 4." A recent directive of the Ministry for National Defense, so the document states at its beginning, has laid down new stages for establishment of combat readiness: "Accordingly the Border Troops of the German Democratic Republic, upon proclamation of the stage 'Combat Readiness Upon Threat of War' and upon 'Full Combat Readiness' must complete their transition to securing the national borders under wartime conditions." This is straightforward and minces no words, unlike in the West where we speak of a "period of tension" and then, almost shamefaced, of a "V-Condition" or defense condition.

The "Restricted Confidential Document" is free of scruples, second thoughts and regrets. It is also free of any anxiety that the enemy in the West will be able to overrun the border. While the border is assumed to be established for defensive purposes--this is only the case at those points from which an attack is to jump off. The entire document--far removed from any kind of agitation--is focused on the only possible situation in the event of an outbreak of war, namely that the Warsaw Pact would be able to attack the Federal Republic.

The order "Combat Readiness Upon Threat of War" is to be affected in the following four phases: "Movement Readiness of the Border Company With Augmented Combat Readiness = 15 minutes. Occupation of Company Support Position After Assuming Assault Readiness in Position = Additional 50 minutes."

Although it is known that the Bundeswehr has no chemical warfare agents and U.S. forces only limited amounts in Germany, the text states, "Chemical

security in the company support position will be organized and carried out with the goal of promptly warning and protecting troops from the effects of chemical, bacteriological and nuclear weapons." Somewhat further along--almost casually along with the catalog of border company equipment--"Molotov cocktails and irritant gas will be issued appropriate to need on orders of the company commander," indicating that the troops are to be protected from the effects of chemical warfare agents employed by themselves. A deliberate employment of chemical warfare agents would certainly not be remarked in this "Restricted Confidential Document," though it may be possibly disguised under the heading of "irritant gas."

According to the document, Border Troops will scarcely have to reckon with the possibility of assault from NATO forces; artillery fire can be expected, hence the company support position is to provide protection in slit trenches. Observation positions are to be built and camouflaged. Another point is even more important, "The organization, preparation and route march of units of the border company for the capture and defense of a position occupied by the enemy"--i.e., crossing of the border and armed penetration into the Federal Republic.

Here there are a number of goals, and the tasks are spelled out: "the capture, occupation and retention of important bridges, highway and railroad junctions and other important terrain features;" equally important, however, is "the prevention of a partial destruction of dams along rivers or at lakes or reservoirs; significant technical installations of various kinds"--namely in the event that NATO forces attempt to erect barriers to the advance of armored forces, although it is not likely that they will destroy dams at reservoir sites. Other assault objectives include, "...the capture, occupation and retention or the capture and destruction of stationary and mobile radio and electronic installations, observation positions and other important military installations." The document adds, "It can be expected that these installations and positions will be appropriately defended, secured or patrolled by the enemy... Such installations and positions will require comprehensive and repeated reconnaissance up to the point of the capture."

Since the Border Troops alone would not be able to undertake this task, agents of the Military Intelligence Service "MilND) of the National People's Army will be employed. The author of the "Restricted Confidential Document" approaches this topic cautiously and in stilted language: "Objectives of this importance will therefore, with respect to their classification, have to be analysed, promptly recorded and entered into the system of our reconnaissance as possible objectives for specific tasks of this type." The reconnaissance system is illuminated upon inspection of a drawing with the caption, "Variant of a mobile electronic installation of the Bundeswehr (Size 100x200 m)."

No detail is lacking: "3 rod antennae, 7 rods; antennae with lattice towers, generators, stone bunkers 3x4 m (bunk area, equipment area), kennels, searchlight mounts, barrier pole on pedestal mount (screen wire 2.20 m)." Carefully noted is "Installation security: --Daylight: periodic patrols, 1-2 men. --Night: regularly two patrols, each one man with guard dog." How many agents took how long to determine the number of personnel: "approximately

30, including 7 officers, 15 NCO's, 8 privates, 9 trucks (including 5 vans)?" Reconnaissance alone could not have ascertained one point: "Security in event of emergency: one platoon, three squads from prepared positions."

The intention of the "Restricted Confidential Document VVS No. G 572 910, Border Regiment 4" is clear: a surprise attack upon soldiers of the Bundeswehr, who imagine themselves still at peace, even though in a period of tension: "All border companies, upon achieving full combat readiness, must be capable...of carrying out an operation of this complexity when ordered. The order for such an operation can and will only be issued a few hours before its execution for the sake of maintaining security. This means that there will be little time for immediate preparations for those units under such orders. This will require that in basic and advanced training appropriate attention be given to the attack upon a limited objective." From this it is clear that the border soldiers will be expected to overrun and capture objectives up to 6 kilometers west of the inner-German border through "surprise, decisive, bold action."

There are a number of reasons why this could go awry: apart from the military-political situation within which a demoralized military pact--named after the city of Warsaw, where a military government, barely capable of governing, is scarcely able to feed its population--the heavily burdened border guards will be in a bad way. Finicky communist apparatchik officers, whose pedantic German can be sniffed in every line of the instructions for aggression, have calculated the exact weight of the arms, ammunition and equipment of each soldier.

Accordingly we learn that the helmet of the National People's Army weighs 1.5 kg, the gas mask (TSM) 2.8, belt with equipment harness 0.5, field rations 1.3 and a full canteen 0.8 kg. Altogether the "general equipment" weighs some 6.9 kg. The assistant gunner of the light field piece SPG-9 73 mm (Stankovii Protivotankovii Granomet-9) will have crouched through six kilometers of underbrush with a load of 30.8 kg on his back. Even the runner, who is expected to be especially mobile, will have to pack more than half a hundred-weight: assault rifle with bayonet 3.4 kg, 5 loaded magazines 4.1 kg, 720 cartridges M-43 11.7 kg, general equipment 6.9 kg, totalling 26.1 kg. Only the squad leader gets a break: 14.4 kg.

Something else must be kept in mind: A few hours before a surprise attack either during an emergency or in peacetime, the border soldiers will learn that they are suddenly to go off to war--6 kilometers toward the West. What has got to be done in this brief time? The confidential document lists five points: reconnaissance; instructions to troop commanders; creation of the "combat structure of the border company;" issuing of orders by company commanders to platoon leaders down through squad leaders to individual soldiers." As point number one, ahead of all the rest, is listed: "political and ideological preparation of the unit."

The comrades among the Border Troops will be flabbergasted in light of the manifest fact that "the class enemy over there" is clearly still living in a state of peace. As a result it will be necessary to sacrifice the largest

part of the scant time available not for preparations for an assault, but for an ideological preparation. "In the course of this...such changed psychological circumstances as the following must be kept in mind for the political effort:

- lack of actual, individual experience in armed combat;
- urgent need for information;
- possible initial successes on the part of the enemy, effects of enemy fire and reinforced hostile psychological warfare;
- casualties and missing within own ranks and possible interruption of communications;
- combat while temporarily surrounded, in the rear of the enemy and without direct communication with flanking forces..."

The border soldiers will not be exactly enthusiastic--many of them, before induction, will have preferred to watch television from the West rather than their own red-tinted channels. Whether what is recommended for morale-building will be sufficient is a question: "Direct oral agitation and the personal example of troop commanders and communists is the decisive form of political effort under combat conditions." In practice this translates as, "combat conferences, brief meetings of party and FDJ (Free German Youth) rank and file organizations, current situation information; work with the press, unit information bulletins and pamphlets, bulletin board reports (especially at the company supply depot)..." All of this but a few hours before the outbreak of an aggressive war will mean for the individual soldier an inner struggle with his feelings, his impressions and thoughts as well as fear and the effort to overcome it.

The officer in charge of political effort within the border company will already be waiting for news of initial successes so as to be able to turn them to morale-building account, in line with task of: "popularizing the military successes and individual heroism of his own and other units," since these together create "the sense of organization of military life," discipline and political effort being a "sure foundation of a high effectiveness."

Border Regiment 4 with its headquarters is located at Heiligenstadt, 23 km as the crow flies southeast of Goettingen. It is under the control of Border Command South in Erfurt.

9878
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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WEST GERMAN REPORTER INTERVIEWS GDR HIGH SCHOOL ELITE STUDENTS

Hamburg ZEIT MAGAZIN in German No 18, 30 Apr 82 pp 3, 46-48, 51

[Report by Marlies Menge, East Berlin correspondent, ZEIT MAGAZIN: "High School Diploma: The Great Prize in the GDR"]

[Text] Now they are sweating again in the high schools over written papers and oral examinations: the high school seniors of 1982. And their worries about getting to study at a university is gradually shaking their carefully cultivated indolence.

This situation in the GDR is not very different from the one in the FRG. Marlies Menge, our East Berlin correspondent, visited a high school class over there, which--as she describes on page 46--was in the middle of final examinations for the secondary-school diploma. Not only the worries but also the difficulties are similar, but while in our case the roadblock is the limit of available space at universities, over there, when it comes to professional choices, doors can be closed to high school students even before they take the final examinations: Whoever is permitted to study medicine or psychology--a subject that is equally desirable--depends more than ever on political involvement and family status. Being a child of a worker is still a privilege when a spot at the university is involved, although here in our country children from that social class usually do not advance that far on the ladder of the school system.

Anyway, it appears that there is nothing new in the East. Looking at it more closely, trying to figure out how many students actually make it to the final secondary-school examination on both sides, one arrives at an interesting result: Whereas here between 30 and 70 percent of the fourth-grade students switch from the elementary school to a secondary school or a comprehensive school and, in turn, 70 percent pass the final examination,

in the GDR only four students out of the entire 10th grade class receive a secondary-school diploma. In other words, many working-class children in the GDR do not make it either.

Another comparison yields different results. East and West German high school students are united in their fear of war and desire for peace. The consequences for them, however, are quite different on both sides: In the FRG one of the most frequently and passionately discussed topics among upperclassmen is the refusal to do military service, approximately 52 percent of high school graduates do not bear arms but prefer to look after disabled people. In the GDR, however, 4 out of 10 high school students want to become career officers. It is a logic which has its champions also here among the older generation; over there, however, it is simply by decree.

The desks have been arranged in a semicircle. I am sitting at the teacher's desk. On top of it is a green plant. In front of me are 18 high school seniors of East Berlin's Friedrich List School. On the right side I notice a beautiful girl with long dark hair, in the middle there is an attractive girl with an asymmetric hairdo and long earrings who is catching my attention; she is dressed like someone in a fashion magazine. And in the left row a young man is grinning at me cheerfully; he is blond and is wearing a plaid shirt. A few of them are wearing blue FDJ shirts.

We went upstairs, through hallways, passing glass cases with red flags and posters with socialist sayings until we reach the music room, which is free of any such decorations. There are only pictures of Beethoven and Shostakovich, photographs of Eisler and Dessau, posters of the Comic Opera. Today the class has its first written final examination, an essay in Russian. Next in line would be a German essay followed by tests in mathematics and also a choice of either biology, chemistry or physics. Finally comes the oral examination, which covers mostly subjects that have been chosen by the examinees themselves. Civics, sports, art education--all these things are behind them.

The principal told me that he had been at this school for 15 years and that nobody had failed during this period. Whoever manages to get accepted by an expanded secondary school, does not fail any longer and he also does not flunk the final examination. Candidates for the final secondary-school examination belong to a privileged group; in the GDR it is even more so than it is anywhere else. Only two students from each 10th-grade class can transfer to the expanded secondary school. Grades and political involvement are the decisive factors. These girls and boys transferred to the expanded secondary school after the 8th grade, the 9th and 10th grades were preparatory classes. Today all students remain in the same school until the 10th grade, and only then two of them are selected for the expanded secondary school. Two others have the opportunity to take vocational training along with preparations for the secondary-school examination. The son of a girlfriend, for instance,

is getting training in the building trades; he will also take the final secondary-school examination, because later in his career he wants to become a construction engineer.

After introducing me, the principal left. He did not want to disturb. The gentleman from the teacher's house who arranged the date for my interview and the homeroom teacher stayed. He is taking notes constantly. It is a Wednesday afternoon; actually it is the afternoon for the FDJ meeting. We are, so to speak, the replacement program. I ask them to spell their names and everybody is to tell me what he wants to be.

Blond Cathrin, Wearing an Arafat Scarf Around Her Neck Wants To Be a Construction Engineer

Frank wants to be a certified engineer for food technology. He is a quiet boy and there is pride in his voice when he says that his father is a telecommunications technician, his mother is working in bookkeeping--in other words, a real workers' son, something that does not happen very often in Pankow where the school is located. Pankow has villas with parents who presumably are ambitious. It is much more difficult there than in the working-class district of Prenzlauer Berg to get into the expanded secondary school. Blond Kathrin, who is wearing an Arafat scarf around her neck, is going to be a construction engineer, and she says it is what she always wanted.

In the GDR, occupational counseling starts early. The young people are finding out early that the study of medicine, pharmacy, psychology for instance, is reserved for a few who are chosen from a selected group. Karin, whose curly hair has been gathered into a fashionable puff on top of her head and who is wearing a handknit red jacket, will study English and Portuguese. Why? "It is something new," she says. In school she had been studying Russian for 8 years and English for 6 years. Wolfgang is going to be a career officer for fiscal economics, and the cheerful blond youth in the plaid shirt will be a career officer in the Border Police. Beate will study business law. Her father is an economist, and it is possible that she will go into business later. Tabea, the girl with the Hebrew name, will become a children's nurse. But she did not have to get a secondary-school diploma for that? That is true, she admits, maybe later she will go into social service; at any rate, she wants to work with people.

Heike originally wanted to study water management. She is particularly interested in ecological problems, but she was turned down. Now she will study engineering economics in the construction business. Valerie, the girl with the asymmetrical hairdo, will be an interpreter for Russian and French, and curly-haired Ralf, sitting next to her, will be a career officer in the Air Force; he wants to be a pilot. Rene will be a career officer in for support services: "I will have to take care of supplies and food." Tom will be a teacher in athletics and history. Delf wanted to study dentistry, but his request was denied. And now? "First I will join the service and then I will have to see. I have already had talks with the counselor to choose something else, but they only offer me what is left." They are the things that the state needs most: specialists in technology and economics.

Both Carsten and Joerg will study electronics, beautiful Monika will become an educational psychologist, Andre will study information electronics and blond Kerstin will go into medicine.

She and the boy who wanted to study dentistry had taken Latin as an elective. There is a possible choice of 18 subjects, but the school does not offer all of them. But students have to take one of them. Kerstin tells me the title of her WPA paper: "Must We Die of Starvation Some Day?" (WPA - wissenschaftlich-praktische Arbeit [scientific-practical work], is work in a plant or in academe about which an essay has to be written.)

I ask them, who is the spokesperson for the class. A dumb question. Monika explains to me kindly that they do not have anybody like that. "We have an FDJ secretary." It is Monika, a candidate for the study of dream psychology. Her FDJ work certainly did not interfere with the fulfillment of this dream. Her representative is the cheerful blond boy, future officer in the Border Police. "We organize FDJ events. The central council of the FDJ submits a topic for each month, which will then be discussed." During spring vacation they want to take an FDJ trip to Moscow.

'Nobody Attacks Me, but Somehow the Young People Do Not Respond to Me'

Karin, the one with the red knit jacket, is the cultural functionary of the class. She gets theater tickets at a 50-percent discount. "The other day we saw Duerrenmatt's 'The Physicists.'" The class is also entitled to concerts, but only a few take advantage of it. Two in the class play an instrument. FDJ Secretary Monika studied piano for 7 years, then she stopped, and now she is playing only for fun. She likes Bach and Mozart best. Kerstin plays the trumpet in a 60-member Pioneer and FDJ band, which also performs at official functions, for instance, in the Palace of the Republic. On the FDJ blouse is a German Red Cross badge. She is a member. Is it obligatory for future medical students? "No, but they like to see it," Kerstin says. She seems so fragile and one would hardly expect her to play the trumpet.

It seems to be difficult to get the conversation going. I feel like a monologist, addressing an appreciative audience. Nevertheless, these 18 people are very kind. Nobody brands me as a representative of imperialism and attacks me, for instance, because of the NATO double resolution. But somehow these young people do not respond to me. They do not seem to be interested in a discussion with me. They answer the questions, but that is all.

I try more personal questions: "Do you travel with your parents or do you prefer to go with friends?" Andre, who wears light glasses and has an intelligent face, replies: "I travel with my parents, because even during vacation I do not want to do without certain comforts, for instance, the morning toast." He then prepares toast for everybody to make sure that his parents also benefit from his presence. His mother works at the Comic Opera, his father in a repair shop. "He is in the party and on the plant labor union executive board. Still, he always has time for us," Andre says with gratitude; even if he got bad grades his parents would not get angry. What he likes best

is traveling with his grandparents: "They experienced the war and they have so much to tell." Tom plays the adversary: "I prefer to travel with my friends. My mother is always so afraid that I might do something crazy. Last year, for instance, we hitchhiked to Budapest. I feel that I am freer among friends."

'The West Germans Treat Us like Impoverished Clodhoppers'

Would they like to be in contact with West German young people? Karin would like to have contact with foreigners: "With the French, Hungarians..., why should they be West Germans?" And Andre: "They speak the same language as we do, so we cannot even practice a foreign language." He also prefers to talk to foreigners. "For instance, somebody from the USSR. In Pankow there are many embassies." Tom is the only one who does not seem to object to talking to West Germans occasionally. "In Budapest we met a West German in the sauna..." The frustrated dentist corrects: "In the thermal bath!"-- "Okay, in the thermal bath. He was one of the 'Greens,' very interesting, although he seemed a little confused. But then he started talking about the-- what do they call it: liberal-democratic legal order and that the old nazis should be left alone, then I had enough."

There is a reason for Andre's dislike for West German youths: "Some time ago, two of my cousins visited us occasionally; they treated us like clodhoppers. As if we were impoverished, somewhat like peasants.... I would rather forget about them."

High School Seniors From Duesseldorf Think That Rostock Is in the USSR

I remember what a Rostock acquaintance told me. Recently he got permission to travel in the FRG: In his train compartment were five female high school seniors from Duesseldorf; they did not know where Rostock was; one of them thought it was in the USSR. I ask the Pankow high school seniors, where Inebeck is. "On the North Sea," someone says, "northwest of Hamburg," another one says. At any rate, at least they know that it belongs to the FRG.

Questions about leisure time yield few answers. Lively Beate says: "We celebrate a lot, either here or at home, depending on where we can get a room." Frank, the future food technologist, likes to read utopian novels by Stanislaw Lem; Monika, the future psychologist, reads Jorge Amado; Andre, who hopes to be an electronics specialist, likes to listen to music by Jean Michel Jarre. Almost all of their dreams of the future are related to their occupations. Ralf wants to be a pilot with Interflug after completing 25 years military service. The fiscal economist envisions his career in the following sequence: "First I will complete technical training in chemistry, then I will attend the university and study fiscal economics, subsequently I will get a few weeks of military training--and I will be done!"--"Besides," a third person who wants to be a career officer seems to know, "after completing military service--or even during that time--one can study." Kerstin know what she does not want: "General medicine or child medicine. Perhaps, I will go into surgery." Her classmate Monika says: "At one time I wanted to be a teacher, but then I

thought about the fact that I would only have 1 hour at a time with the children. As a psychologist in a home I will have more opportunities to help." She has already picked out a home: one for children impaired by environmental influences, in Gross-Koeris.

One of the three girls who are absent today is already married. Andre wants to wait with that: "Right now, I will first serve in the army for 3 years, then I am going to study. A marriage includes children and considering the course load--both at the same time is too much." I ask them whether they already have steady girl- or boyfriends. There is silence. Finally Tom says: "I do not have a girlfriend any longer."--"Are you in love?"--"Yes, of course."--"Do you like it or are you suffering?"--"I am suffering but it is beautiful." "The beautiful sorrows of young Tom," one of his friends mock. When I tell my 17-year-old son about it, he says that even in his class hardly anybody would answer truthfully to such questions.

Many Are Joining the Army To Get a Spot at the University

"Are you ever afraid?" I ask. "Afraid? No, afraid of what?" "Well, for instance, afraid of war?" "Yes, but we hope there will not be a war." Then one of the boys says: "We have a tendency not to get depressed but to do something." "But what can you do?"--"After all, four of us will be career officers!" I am thinking to myself, I would not like it if my son told me he was going to join the Federal Armed Forces for 25 years because he was in favor of peace. "Almost all of us signed up with the military for 3 years," Tom says. "Some join only because they want to get a place to study, but they are in the minority. First I wanted to stay only 1 and 1/2 years. I thought that it was really enough. After all, army time is not exactly the most beautiful time...." To make sure that I am not getting any ideas, he added quickly: "Now I am going to stay in for 3 years as well." Non-military social service as an alternative to military duty--something that is supported by some churches--will not be available in the GDR for some time. And certainly not for secondary-school graduates.

"There is an extensive peace movement within the church," I say, "is there somebody here who belongs to the Young Church?" Tabea raises her hand: "I am a Christian. It is the reason why I am not a member of the FDJ." Tabea's father is a pastor. I remember that she is the only one who is only taking vocational training. I asked her whether she experienced any kind of discrimination. She says no. "There were only talks with my parents because of the FDJ." Valerie does not belong to the FDJ either because she is French--which explains her extravagant appearance. Her mother is French, her father is a GDR citizen. She herself is a French citizen. The last time she was in France was at Christmas. In her opinion there are no differences between the young people in the GDR and those in France. "Well, the French must be a little bit crazier," one of her fellow students says sheepishly.

Karin and Cathrin say good-bye: They have to go to the dentist. Gradually the others seem to have had enough too. Suddenly discord is in the air when I ask whether there are any questions they had expected but I did not ask them. One of the future electronics specialists (who did not even take part

in the question-and-answer game) is indignant: Was I of the opinion that they had prepared for the interview with me? That was not the case!

Did anybody stop to think in the morning what he should wear today? "We had to wear our FDJ shirts today," FDJ Secretary Monika, dressed in denim-overalls, says, "because we were writing a Russian paper. When there are tests and examinations the defense is done in festive clothes. (In the GDR titles and examination papers are 'defended.') The FDJ shirt is considered festive clothing."

I am getting tired. The desks are moved back to their normal position, one row after the other. A few of the students extend their hands to say good-bye. Most of them are in a hurry to get home.

8991

CSO: 2300/269

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

YOUNG GENERATION'S ALIENATION FROM REGIME ANALYZED

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German Vol 37 No 12, 19 Mar 82 p 9

['Politics' feature article by Joachim Nawrocki, datelined West Berlin, March: "Estrangement From the Party--Ever More Young People in the GDR Are Searching for Their Own Way"]

[Text] Erich Honecker keeps insisting on "constant ideological combat-readiness." However, what the SED has to fear is not the Polish model or an opposition movement, but its own diminishing credibility.

Many details of the speech that SED General Secretary Erich Honecker recently delivered before his Party's kreis [GDR administrative unit] secretaries were not meant for the socialist masses. The SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND disclosed that "other passages dealt with the consolidation of the GDR's defense capability and with the tasks of the armed forces," but it did not reveal exactly what was said. Will the compulsory military service be extended to 2 years?

The economic concerns were likewise mentioned only in passing. Reportedly, Honecker criticized the performance of the GDR economy and announced further price hikes. It remains to be seen whether this is true. However, the SED organ stated--almost verbatim--the party leader's demand "to improve the quality and effectiveness of agitation and propaganda and constantly to maintain ideological watchfulness." How is this supposed to be done if all delicate subjects are passed over in silence?

The SED leadership is confronted with quite a few trouble spots: Poland, militarization and peace movement, restlessness among the young people, a troublesome Protestant Church, economic problems, and--last but not least--the unstable situation in Moscow. The first secretaries of the kreis administrations are the first to notice this. They are the front-line officers of the Party--not quite so removed from the sentiments of the people as are the Politburo and the Central Committee apparatus. They are the ones who are called out if there is dissatisfaction to be faced, waves to be calmed and undesirable sentiments to be opposed. They cannot derive any support from the slogans of the party leadership. The success of the ideological work--which Honecker called the core of the Party's work--is bound up with the success of the local party organization.

The martial law imposed by General Jaruzelski is not much of a relief to the GDR leadership. To be sure, it was unpleasant for the GDR--wedged in between the

ideological opponent in the West and an unfathomable reform communism in the East--to have to sit and wait for the repercussions at home. But for one thing, the SED leadership knew full well that the Polish stirrings would be quelled one way or another (albeit--in its view--too late). And secondly, the Polish flare-up met with very little response in the GDR, at least as far as the older generation was concerned. Since hardly anyone in the GDR believes that civil disobedience, strikes, or pressure on the Party and the state will change anything for the better, the development in Poland was unwelcome, not only to the SED, but also to the majority of the population.

Nevertheless, the events in Poland did leave their mark on the GDR. A trade union protecting the workers' interests even against the state, a party organization whose functionaries are elected by the rank and file rather than appointed from above--these were tempting models indeed! A number of resignations from the GDR trade union FDGB were the first indications of such a trend and the criticism against bureaucratic decisions intensified.

The GDR leadership reacted very quickly. All of a sudden, the press praised the FDGB as an organization that strictly and successfully enforces the rights of the workers vis-a-vis the plant management. Arrogant party and state functionaries were quickly and inconspicuously replaced. The Workers' and Farmers' Inspection Service criticized the fact that complaints and petitions by citizens had not been properly dealt with, that they had been dismissed as "gripes" and that many state leaders were not interested in the "elimination of shortcomings for the benefit of all."

In his speech before the SED kreis secretaries, Honecker even went so far as to demand that in the trade union elections the workers' proposals be given "due consideration," that greater attention be paid to the workers' opinions and that all problems concerning domestic and foreign policy be openly discussed with the people. He stated that the Thaelmann tradition called for "sensitivity vis-a-vis the working people."

Now this would be something entirely new in the history of the SED. While the Party has frequently shown tactical skill, it has never shown and still does not show sensitivity.

As recently as November, Werner Walde, head of the SED's Cottbus Bezirk [GDR administrative unit], stated he regarded the young Christians' demands for a "social peace service" as "actions detrimental to peace, socialism and constitution." The Protestant Church's request for a discussion with National Education Minister Margot Honecker on communist education and freedom of religion was turned down on the basis of the weak argument that such a discussion would infringe on the principle of separation of church and state. The FDJ [Free German Youth] organ JUNGE GENERATION recently stated that a peace movement would be effective only if it proceeded from the realization "that both peace and socialism and imperialism and war are integral units." None of this can be called sensitive.

But it is precisely sensitiveness that the GDR leadership will be needing more and more. For the security apparatus of the GDR, organized opposition and individual resistance are less difficult to deal with than a diffuse, elusive peace movement. The authorities are resorting to isolated arrests and expulsions; the more

vulnerable the object, the harsher the punishment. A young woman who on the "Day of Human Rights" distributed leaflets in Leipzig was sentenced to 5 years imprisonment. A pedestrian in East Berlin who stated in front of West German television cameras that he regarded the obligatory conversion of Westmarks into Intershop coupons as an incapacitation of the citizens was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment.

Such an atmosphere is not conducive to opposition movements. Consequently, true political resistance is a rare occurrence in the GDR. Robert Havemann and his followers are kept under constant surveillance by the State Security Service. Rudolf Bahro is in the West; even though his ideas can be assumed to be accepted by a few individuals in the party apparatus, they do not appear to exert any lasting influence. A number of writers voice concern and criticism, but they do so only in their closed circles or in the West.

Even less likely is a political underground. The "League of Democratic Communists of Germany," which at the beginning of 1978 published a manifesto in DER SPIEGEL, has never been heard of again. The endeavors that reportedly were made in this respect either were carried by lone wolves or they were quickly smashed. The followers of the Stalinist "KPD, Section GDR" that had formed in 1980 were quickly imprisoned. On several occasions, there appeared leaflets in the GDR--advocating free trade unions, democratization, human rights--but these were isolated actions.

The many thousands of political prisoners in the GDR are incarcerated not because of true opposition, but because they submitted applications for emigration, because they attempted to escape, because they copied Biermann songs--or simply because they were too talkative. Thus, according to a joke circulating in the GDR, there is a new state emblem: the goat on a chair--"whoever bleats [colloquial German for griping], sits [colloquial German for doing time, serving a prison sentence]."

Thus the GDR need not be concerned about organized opposition. This fact must not be obscured by the papers containing criticism and background information that occasionally are passed to Western papers from the GDR. The domestic problem the GDR presently is confronted with is the lethargy of the older citizens and the cold accommodation or hotheaded refusal of the younger generation. It is against these manifestations--much more so than against deliberate resistance--that the state has proved powerless. When a rock festival turns into a critical discussion forum, when young people demand--by means of a sit-down strike--establishment of a youth center, when thousands of young people assemble for a peace forum (as was recently the case in Dresden)--in such instances, the helplessness of the SED state is fully apparent.

Confronted with the choice between massive police actions and condonation and concealment, the state frequently looks for a third course: cooptation and ensnarement. The state establishes the youth center desired, but places it under the direction of the FDJ. The functionaries seek forms that correspond to Western models and simulate basic democracy. The socialist competition "Beautify Our Cities and Communities" now calls itself "Citizens' Initiative"--a citizens' initiative launched not by citizens, but by the National Council of the National Front.

These examples have been imitated in other places. Following the example of the "Rock Against Right" events in the Federal Republic, the East Berlin Palace of the Republic in January staged "Rock for Peace." The Protestant Church apparently was able in intensive talks to prevent the unorganized peace movement in the GDR from imitating the traditional Easter marches of the West. Instead, the FDJ now plans to stage an Easter rally in Dresden. The peace movement contents itself with regional meetings.

For it goes without saying that true citizens initiatives are highly unwelcome. When at the beginning of the year the East Berlin clergyman Reiner Eppelmann canvassed signatures for a "Berlin Appeal--Establish Peace Without Arms," he was interrogated by the State Security Service. The FDJ quickly coined a motto of its own: "Peace Must Be Armed." Even the church dissociated itself. Church leaders did not want to back Eppelmann's action; they stated his appeal was not conducive to matter-of-fact talks.

In this respect, the church leaders actually may be right; for whenever the state and the Party sense confrontation, discussion is no longer feasible. The question is whether the GDR leadership is still prepared to engage in matter-of-fact talks with a reserved church. Honecker's promise that Christians would be accorded equal rights in education and vocational training has not been kept. At the end of last year, the Bishop of Magdeburg, Krusche, reported that a high school student who had had herself baptized was called to account by the school's director and expelled. Krusche stated that this was not an isolated case, but a trend.

Nevertheless, the Protestant Church of the GDR continues to look for opportunities to engage in discussions with the state. At the synods it openly discusses its concerns--and this is why Western correspondents are no longer allowed to cover the synods--but it does not want confrontation. In reply to critical questions by young people, the Bishop of Saxony, Hempel, stated at the peace forum in Dresden's Kreuzkirche [Church of the Cross]: "I don't know what else I could do in the name of Christ but talk, talk, talk. I am often sick and tired of my speeches, because they do not change anything, but what else can I do?... Are the Government's vetoes on military service in the social sector and on unarmed service in the reserves of such crucial importance that we are called to take a stand? May God forgive me if I am mistaken. I say: No!"

The Protestant Church in the GDR does not want to be a professing church such as existed in the Third Reich--it does not want to be a church in opposition. Rather, it regards itself as "church in socialism," which preaches the gospel, acts as a go-between and, if need be, exerts a calming influence. It feels called to open its doors to the young people who pursue life goals different from Marxism-Leninism or from the home-in-the-country idyll.

In the GDR, there's nothing that could be compared to the Poland of 1980/81: No rebellious workers, no organizations such as KOR, no trade unions such as Solidarity, no Cardinal such as Wyszinsky. Aspects the party and state leadership must be concerned about are indifference, the much-criticized dawdling, dissatisfaction, ideological emptiness, the "creeping counterrevolution" and--last but not least--the growing intensity of the unorganized peace movement that even the churches can influence only in part.

The fear of war has now taken hold of the GDR population as well. The apocalyptic devil that the SED has conjured up in order to weaken the West's defense preparedness now is smirking back at its creators. "Never before has there been such a threat to world peace" claim the party propagandists. But hardly anyone wants to believe that the blame for this should be placed on the West alone. The Communist ideology has lost its credibility in one crucial point of its doctrine of salvation.

Moreover, the GDR leadership is confronted with a fateful dilemma. If it goes beyond its previous practice, i.e. if it not only hushes up, but also stops and suppresses the unorganized peace movement in its own country, it will irrevocably antagonize the Western peace movement. It could turn about and attack the SS-20 and the manifest militarism that accompanies the GDR citizens from the kindergarten to the veterans' club. But if the GDR leadership leaves alone the young people who oppose military service and armaments, there is the danger that cells may arise (similar to those in Poland), in which a growing number of dissatisfied individuals raise ever new demands: Abolition of military service, zones free from nuclear weapons, reforms in state and society, basic democracy, nonalignment--a great many things would be conceivable.

Short-Winded Tactics

For this reason, the GDR leaders try to ensnare the peace movement, to coopt it and to harness it for their own purposes. Events such as "Rock for Peace" or Werner Walde's claim that "the entire GDR is social peace service" are part of this strategy. And this is why the GDR leadership still tries to come to terms with the Church, as long as the Church is able to get the young people off the street and to discipline them. But for how long will the Church be able to do this?

It is obvious that the tactics employed by the party and state leadership cannot work indefinitely. For the peace movement in the GDR has spontaneously formed and has kept aloof from the so-called social forces primarily because the thoughtful young people do not want to be coopted and organized, because they want to express and do something on their own, something different from the objectives of the SED.

So what the GDR leadership has to fear is not resolute opposition, but an ever-increasing loss of credibility--"ideological softening," as it is called in the party jargon. And in this respect the influences from the West are stronger than those from Poland.

To be sure, the SED, too, realizes that as far as the majority of the people are concerned there is nothing that could be softened up, because ideology never thrived among the people. Nevertheless, the leadership must be concerned about three things: The effects of new modes of thought and perception on the party apparatus, above all on the younger generation--diminishing loyalty vis-a-vis the state, a state which the majority of the people do not love, but which they still accept as an identification object--growing conflicts between the generations.

Since he assumed his duties as head of the Party and the Government, Erich Honecker has tried to balance matters in regard to what the state can do for the citizen. He has placed his hopes on a rising standard of living as a reward for hard work and loyalty; he has granted cultural freedom within the limits he considered tolerable. This policy now is finished.

The end of the policy of doled-out liberties came as a result of the blood-letting that the cultural scene underwent after Biermann's expatriation. The limits of economic growth became fully apparent after the second oil crisis, which prompted the Soviet Union to exact higher payments from its fraternal countries. Many people are now expecting drastic price hikes. The GDR citizens will have to tighten their belts even further.

The change of generations has produced effects of its own. The older generation has seen too much and therefore it is not prepared to hazard all that it has achieved, and until 1961 those who could not make their peace with the SED state had the opportunity to leave. The younger people do not have either: They do not have the need for rest nor do they have the opportunity to change their residence. Since they cannot leave for the West, they behave as though they were there: Jeans, parkas, long hair, rock music, motorbikes, tape recorders--the entire ambience of the young world comes from the West.

Insufficient Discipline

The young people in the West do not want anyone to prescribe to them their ideals and the young people in the GDR are no different. The young people are much less impressionable than their parents who after having been led astray in the Third Reich were looking for new props. And since the young people do not know anything but the GDR, they are probably more interested in trying different things. Or they may be interested in trying the GDR in a different way.

Small wonder that even those subject to military service frequently do not take seriously the state militarism. According to reliable reports, the discipline in the National People's Army is so low that the Soviets have voiced a warning. Probably this is one of the reasons why in the GDR the age bracket for reservists has been raised and why combat groups and civil defense units have been given better equipment and training. The older people appear to be somewhat more reliable than the younger ones, and the militia, more so than the army.

The GDR leadership is confronted with the problem that it does not have--and cannot have--any acceptable answer to the young people's search for orientation. The transparent attempt to link Prussian tradition with GDR socialism has been to no avail. Most of the young people have different value concepts. And they are the only ones who understand the Poles. Poles who traveled in the GDR reported that while adults in the GDR had for the most part shown them icy disapproval, young people overtaking them on their motorbikes had surreptitiously flashed the V-sign.

Only recently, the FDJ leadership instructed its kreis administrations always to be "fully informed on the situation among the young people." JUNGE GENERATION, a paper for functionaries, stated that such information was a prerequisite for "exacting, realistic and differentiated political work among the masses" and that it was necessary to give more consideration to the young people's sentiments. And the journal ELTERNHAUS UND SCHULE asked the educators whether they were "not frequently too lazy or too cowardly" to face contradictions and to take a stand on questionable phenomena. The paper stated that otherwise "measures effecting positive changes" would be impossible.

Naturally, this does not mean that the GDR leadership really wants to humor the young people; it only wants to effect changes along the lines desired. The aforementioned statements do not inspire hope for real change. For at the same time the SED instructs its functionaries to reject "any liberalism" and to oppose "all types of opportunism," for even seemingly small compromises would lead to dangerous consequences in regard to the Party's combat-readiness. However, the demand to scotch at birth oppositionist stirrings cannot eliminate the GDR's internal problems. As the economic difficulties increase and as the young generation grows up, so do the troubles of the SED--slowly, but surely.

8760
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SEJM DEPUTY INTERVIEWED ON HIGHER SCHOOLS LAW

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 3 May 82 p 3

Interview with Sejm deputy Janusz Stefanowicz by Janusz Rowicki: "Law on Higher Schools--Realities and Hopes"; date and place not given

Text Question Academic circles have in various ways been showing their uneasiness over the continuing debate of the draft law on higher schools. Their fears likewise concerned the contents of that law in light of the comparison of the so-called social draft with the amendments presented by the government. Now, that the work of the Sejm Commission on Science and Technological Progress--in which you took an active part as chairman of one of the special subcommission work groups has been concluded, and its version of the draft law has been presented to the Sejm, may I ask whether the delay involved contributed to the change in the character of the law proposed earlier?

Answer To a certain extent, the fate of the law on higher schooling is a reflection of the fate of the country. The first draft law (commonly called social) arose as the result of pressure by academic circles and included some provisions of a rather extremist nature. Anyway, this draft was revised. In November 1981, the government presented its draft law, while in March of this year it supplemented it with its own amendments. As a result, the draft law being produced, frequently--according to the Commission--oscillated between the exaggerated hopes of the academic and the student community, and the realities of the overly complicated, tense situation in schools as well as the need for the State to conduct a specified educational policy that is the essence of the minister's function. It was accepted that the powers of a department head should not restrict the autonomy of higher schools but that neither should they be illusory.

The final version of the draft law has a compromise character: the sense of the social draft and basic assumptions pertaining to autonomy and the self-government of schools was retained, while at the same time certain provisions of the draft law will be regulated in higher school statutes because excessive minuteness of detail in the defense of school freedom could turn against the school itself.

I would like to emphasize as strongly as possible the reflecting spirit of the law expressed in article 2, paragraph 3:

"Higher schools govern themselves in their activity by the principles of the freedom of study and art. Consistent with these principles, a multiplicity of study and artistic directions are developed with observances of philosophical differences."

Question Information about the work on the law was incomplete which probably explains the reservations concerning the alleged restriction of authority for the Main Council for Science and Higher Schools, and particularly: the relationship of the Main Council--and minister of science, higher schooling and technology.

Answer The Main Council will be an elected representative body of the entire sphere of education. Its powers have been substantially expanded for it will be making decisions in matters of defining study directions, training teaching cadres, school development drafts and plans, passing judgment on the principles and deadlines for admissions to higher schools, study directions, cadre policy principles, etc. Speaking of the Main Council's various powers, it is necessary to also mention its power to decide disputes between school authorities and students, and treating it as the final appeal echelon in school employee disciplinary problems. To be sure, it is hard to say how the Main Council, which is not a full-time body, will manage with all of this.

The law anticipates the selection of a rector by the senate or a council of electors, and letting the minister register a protest against the selection by prior agreement with the Main Council. The establishment of the relationships: minister and Main Council is important because it will have a bearing on cooperation between single-person and collective echelons in higher schools.

Question What position did the Commission take on the make-up of collective bodies in higher schools?

Answer The Commission proclaimed itself in favor of their clearly academic character. From 51 to 66 percent of the make-up of senates and faculty councils will be professors, docents and doctors habilitatus. It is worth noting that rector functions can be performed only by professors. However, young academic employees and students have the right to participate in all decisions connected with school life with the exception of awarding academic degrees.

Question What is the situation with respect to the financing of school activities? Is it true that deputy opinions in this matter differed from the department's position?

Answer The principle of the financial self-government of higher schools was adopted, which means that schools can freely control any profit they

produce, however, the way and the purpose for which grants-in-aid are used is subject to review. This continues to be a difficult problem, because on the one hand, it concerns a realistic improvement of the school's ability to carry out financial policy, and on the other, it is necessary to consider the operation of overall financial regulations. As a result it is feared that the resolution worked out does not satisfy either the department or the school, something that in practice may lead to disputes.

Question 7 Much is said in the academic community about student problems. The tensions which appeared in higher schools several months ago demonstrate that we have to do with the difficult problem of student rights and obligations.

Answer The law grants students a high degree of self-government and at the same time specifies their rights and obligations quite clearly. Generally speaking, that portion of the law places emphasis on the maximal development of student individuality. Let us turn attention once more to the problem of philosophical freedom and freedom of academic study that I raised. From the standpoint of an individual student, this is reflected in the right to an individual course of studies and study in many directions provided that he fulfills his obligation in his basic field.

Student organizations and self-governing bodies gain important rights primarily in resolving social problems. The extremely important problem of the procedure for collective student protest and the right of this group to express an opinion has been regulated, as well as the matter of taking action against students who violate regulations and higher school law (a dual-administrative procedure for reviewing problems).

Question 7 You raised the most important problems of the draft law about higher schooling that had been prepared. It appears that despite observing the principle of taking compromise resolutions into consideration, particular formulations in that document get a varied acceptance in higher schools. These employ 75 percent of the academic workers in Poland. In large measure, the shape of other laws will depend on them. It is good that a document so long awaited has assumed real shapes.

10433
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POLAND

SEJM COMMISSIONS DEBATE HIGHER SCHOOLS LAW

Report on Debate

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Apr 82 p 2

Article by REM: Parliamentary version of the Draft Law on Higher Schools]

Text/ Sejm Commissions on Science and Technological Progress and Legislative work began a debate 24 April on a draft law on higher schools.

Deputies became acquainted with an extensive document containing 239 articles, which was the result of several months of work by deputy groups on individual parts of this draft, which--let us remember--the government presented to the Sejm on 16 November 1981.

A report on the work of the subcommission was delivered by its chairman, deputy Jan Janowski. He called attention to the main problems that from the beginning have caused the most controversy and divergent opinions. In the current version of the plan presented, deputies strove to find such solutions and formulations of individual articles as would satisfy interested parties.

Among others, the role of the Main Council for Science and Higher Schools provided controversy. It was conceived initially as a representative body of all scientific centers. In the present version, bearing in mind that a law on Polish science is to be enacted in the future, the deputies decided that the Main Council will be an organ representative exclusively of the higher school academic community. It was left with the right to make decisions on matters basic to science, while on the other hand, it will only be able to give opinions on matters falling under the ministry's management.

Consistent with the suggestions of the Council of Ministers, the current version of the draft law guarantees the minister the role of the implementer of government policy in relation to higher learning. He would, among others, have the right to register a justified protest against the selection of a rector by a school.

Another controversial matter is the establishment of curricula and programs. There is a proposal to resolve it by having the minister establish

the principles for developing the general outlines of study and instruction plans. The Main Council will evaluate them, and then faculty councils will draw up curricula drafts and programs for senate confirmation.

The definition of school financing principles also provoked a great deal of discussion by deputy groups. These had to be reconciled with the current government financial policy. The minister will have the right to apportion financial and material resources among schools. The deputies proposed that schools be given the right to use funds that they themselves have obtained at their discretion.

That would be the most important difference though actually not the only one in comparison with the final draft. Many detailed questions, for example, were left for resolution in statutes on the school.

Not many changes were made in the draft portion pertaining to studies and students--the current version, for example, guarantees the numerical quantity of student organizations, and establishes the procedure for their registration. An always debatable problem--is the proposal to revise the rights of students to register protests. It provides that in the event of a collective dispute, appropriate school organs as well as the self-government, or student organizations will undertake negotiations. Should these not produce a result in the course of 14 days, the senate or the Main Council will resolve the dispute.

The customary procedure for the preparation of doctoral theses is to be resumed--in doctoral seminars, and so-called doctoral studies which were not satisfactory will be eliminated.

The most extensive portion of the draft law concerns school workers because wording from the Teachers' Charter was included in it. Of the general principles--among others, the division of workers into 3 groups: research, teaching, teaching and research, were retained. The work relationship will be based on: permanent appointment or appointment for an unspecified length of time, as well as on the basis of an agreement about work. Rotational assignments of 8 years, for teaching assistants and senior teaching assistants, and 9 years for adjuncts who have a PhD degree are contemplated. Existing obligatory teaching hours have been retained with the caution, however, that as suitable circumstances arise the government will look into the possibility of lowering them. With respect to the regulation of salaries, on the other hand, the Minister of Science, Higher Schooling and Technology who was present at the session, stated that a separate government order on this problem has been prepared.

The current version of the draft also aims to exclude the excessive establishment of schools. In their internal units, in fact, there is even talk of abolishing branches or converting them into out-of-local-area departments. New higher schools could be set up only by Sejm enacted statute. The proposal to divide schools into two categories has also been abandoned, giving all of them the right to make their own rules and regulations.

Finally, perhaps it would be worthwhile to emphasize the painstaking drafting of the articles on which votes were taken. They describe the tasks and rights of the school, and the guarantees of self-government within the sphere of authority defined by law.

Final Draft of Law

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 29 Apr 82 p 2

Article by Jerzy Godula: "Deputy Marathon"]

Text We have the next, and probably the final draft law on higher schools. It emerged after many hours of parliamentary debate on the report of the Subcommission on Higher Schools which has been functioning since last November. Let us remember that this discussion took place at a joint meeting of the Sejm Commissions on Science and Technological Progress and Legislative Work on Saturday 24 April and Tuesday 27 April.

On Wednesday 28 April, deputies adopted the text of a draft which is to be presented at a Sejm Plenary session. During the course of the deliberations which were conducted by deputies Jan Janowski and Witold Zakrzewski, the commissions indicated that the new law should become effective as of 1 September 1982. Consequently, the new academic year would begin under the provisions of the law and create favorable conditions for the development of school self-government and autonomy.

Members of both commissions decided to appear before the Sejm Presidium with a proposal for the preparation of a resolution by the Sejm that will require the government to conclude its work on executive acts related to the new law by 31 March 1983. The drafts of both acts--consistent with the proposed law--should be presented to the appropriate Sejm commissions before they are signed.

The foregoing deputy initiative--it is worth emphasizing--is to safeguard against the repetition of past practice, wherein legal acts of statute rank had actually not been implemented because appropriate executive regulations had not been issued for years and years.

During the Wednesday deliberations deputies discussed the extensive portion of the law pertaining to school employees. The draft states, among others, that research-teaching employees, teaching employees and research employees are academic teachers. Deputies adopted the principle that research-teaching employees are subject to periodic evaluations of the results of their work that are conducted by appropriate school collegiate organs.

The commissions proclaimed themselves in favor of the employment of persons for the post of docent who possess a doctor habilitatus teaching degree. However, it was left to the Main Council for Science and Higher Schools to define the scientific disciplines in which a person who has only a Doctor's degree but who is identified with outstanding attainments may be employed as docent.

The deputies determined that a research-teaching employee has the right of up to 6 weeks' vacation each year when he has no teaching assignments. Employees preparing a doctoral thesis have the right to a paid furlough not exceeding 6 months, while those working on a doctor habilitatus thesis--12 months.

The draft law creates favorable conditions for the development of the teaching cadre. Among others, it was determined that employees with a doctor habilitatus degree have the right to take advantage of a one-year furlough from teaching work and other school responsibilities after 7 consecutive years of work. This exemption should be used for educational or artistic purposes. It is obvious that employees who take advantage of such a furlough cannot undertake paid employment.

It is not possible to present all of the decisions in the draft law on higher schooling that were adopted. It will suffice to mention that this draft is very extensive--it consists of almost 250 articles. Zbigniew Resich who was present at the session of the commission directing the work on the social aspect of the draft law, stated that the current plan deviates, which is natural, from the social.

10433
CSO: 2600/568

ENGINEER TROOPS CHIEF CITES PAST, PRESENT ACHIEVEMENTS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 16 Apr 82 p 3

[Interview by ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI staff reporter, Cpt Tadeusz Filipek, with Brig Gen Leopold Raznowiecki, Chief Engineering Troops, Ministry of National Defense: "Yesterday and Today of the Engineering Troops." Date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] 16 April is celebrated as the "Combat Engineer Day" in commemoration of events on the Odra and Nysa Luzycka rivers 37 years ago. Comrade General, could you share with our readers your reflections on the glorious past and the rich present of the service and work of combat engineers?

[Answer] We are very proud that in this important battle for Berlin, fought side by side with the heroic Soviet army, the First and Second Field Armies of the Polish Army participated. Included among them were organizations, units and sub-units of engineer troops. Polish combat engineers and bridge units, demonstrating a heroic stance and a full measure of sacrifices and offerings, have masterfully accomplished difficult tasks in insuring an unobstructed crossing of the Odra and Nysa Luzycka rivers and have valorously contributed to the victorious accomplishment of combat activities and operations in Europe.

At that time, from the operational point of view the Odra presented the most important obstacle. The engineer troops secured its crossing under conditions of a strongly developed enemy defense of the western bank and under difficult water and terrain conditions.

It is worth mentioning that the combat engineers were the first soldiers of the Polish Army on the Odra, they were there much earlier than any of the others who participated in the crossing. The 6th Pontoon Battalion, attached to the Second Soviet Tank Army, found itself on the Odra already at the beginning of February [1945], on 27 February the soldiers of that battalion dug in the first Polish border markers at Czelin.

We are also very proud of the fact that, as a result of the Berlin operation, two of our engineer units--1st Combat Engineer Bn of the 1st Infantry Division and the aforementioned 6th Pontoon Bn--took part in the assault on Berlin, and that Polish engineers and bridgemen were witnesses to the planting of the red Soviet and the white and red Polish flags over the capital of the Third Reich.

[Question] In recognition of the service of the engineers, on the first anniversary of the Berlin operation, By General Orders No. 105 of the Chief Headquarters of the Polish Army, dated 4 April 1946, the day 16 April has been set aside as the annual commemorative holiday of the Engineering troops....

[Answer] The establishment of this holiday was an expression of tribute and adoration to all engineering soldiers who, on the battlefields from Lenino to Berlin, wrote a glorious page in the history of our nation and its people's armed forces. Along the battle trail followed by the engineering troops the first was Lenino, where the 1st Combat Engineer Bn (1st Inf Div) received its baptism of fire in securing the crossing over the Mereia river and by securing the action of tanks and infantry in a very difficult terrain. Combat engineers of the 1st Field Army of Polish Army participated next in securing combat positions for battles on the Styr, Turia and Bug rivers in the Wolyn territory. On their native soil the combat engineers took part in battles of Deblin and Pulawy, on the Warek-Magnuszew bridgehead, in battles for the right bank [of the Vistula] at Warsaw-Praga and for Warsaw bridgeheads, among others at Czerniakow where today stands the monument to a combat engineer.

In January 1945 began the Vistula-Odra operation and the first triumph--the liberation of Warsaw. From there the battle trail led across the Pomeranian Wall [Wal Pomorski] and Kolobrzeg to the Odra and Nysa Luzycka rivers, to Havel and across the Hohenzollern Canal to finally end in Berlin.

[Question] The end of combat operations did not signal the end of fighting for the combat engineers. Immediately after the end of hostilities and even still during the war began the second chapter in the history of the combat engineers...

[Answer] From the moment of their entry into our capital, the Polish and Soviet engineers began to build pontoon and fixed bridges, cleared destroyed areas and neutralized mines throughout the city. In addition to an extensive training task units of engineering troops took up the struggle to insure peaceful working conditions for the people en aged in clearing the land from the debris of war: mines and duds. From the effort of the combat engineers came hundreds of thousands of hectares of mine-cleared fields, pastures and roads, thousands of kilometers of highways, tens of thousands of towns, villages and settlements, hundreds of industrial objects, bridges and railroad lines. They contributed to the reconstruction and development of the country in bringing help to the populace during natural disasters and through their participation in numerous construction efforts which multiplied the commonwealth of our socialist fatherland.

While clearing literally the surface of the entire country they have distinguished themselves in clearing the so-called bridgeheads, in particular across the Vistula in the Warmia and Mazury regions (especially in the area of Hitler's headquarters in Gierloza near Kostrzyn), at the Dukielska Pass [Przelecz], in the Lubusk territory and in the Augustowska Wilderness. Up to 1956, the combat engineers removed and deactivated over 17 million mines. The clearing of the land continues to the present times. The total, up to 1981, over 72 million duds and other ordnances were rendered harmless.

This did not pass without sacrifices--in 37 years of mine clearing action 484 combat engineers lost their lives, 795 were wounded. The most disturbing aspect, however, is the careless attitude of children and youth and parental lack of concern. Last year alone there were 23 unfortunate accidents among the civilian population. As a result of careless play or handling of various kinds of ordnances by children 13 persons died and 27 were wounded.

[Question] The active participation of combat engineers in the reconstruction of the destroyed communications infrastructure and community facilities is also well known. They have received special recognition for their bridge construction efforts.

[Answer] By virtue of their equipment and the qualifications of the career cadre and soldiers, combat engineers acting within the framework of their regular training accomplish many tasks as subcontractors of great investments or as independent executors of specialized assignments. Included in this category are demolition projects including the use of high explosives, earthworks and road construction and, above all else, bridge construction. Starting from the end of the war, combat engineers have constructed 741 bridges with a combined length of 30,628 meters.

In 1981 alone, combat engineers constructed, within the framework of their training mission, 30 bridges with a combined length of 1,784 meters. This has contributed in a considerable measure to the interregional communications. The following are among the larger bridges which were constructed by combat engineers to satisfy the needs of the national economy : in Warsaw Military District the bridge over Pilica in Osuchow, length 140 meters and a 133 meter bridge in Sanok. In the Silesian Military District our combat engineers built their largest bridge in Konopnica near Sieradz, length 138 meters; combat engineers from Pomerania built a 115 meter bridge in Drawsk.

Other important tasks which were performed by the combat engineers for the benefit of the national economy during the past year include clearing of windbreaks in western and northern Poland. This permitted us to obtain several thousand tons of very valuable raw-material which is currently very costly.

Another very valuable contribution to the national economy which is made annually by the engineering troops lies in the training, and preparation every year--for the needs of the national economy--of hundreds of highly qualified specialists (operators of earth moving and construction machinery, iple driver operators, bulldozer operators, electricians and explosives handlers). They are needed and valued at many construction sites.

[Question] A mission which is a permanent facet of engineering troops duties is the assistance to civil authorities, and the populace, during the spring and fall floods and protection from ice damage to bridges and other hydrological structures....

[Answer] The largest floods, as regards their size and the extent of damages they inflicted, were the "floods of the century" in 1979 and 1982. The participation of combat engineers in operations involving the rescue of persons and their property and salvaging of state property were particularly noteworthy. The 1979 flood was severe in several regions: On the Warta [river] at Konin, on Vistula at Wyszogrod and at Plock, on the Narew and Bug [rivers] at Ostroleka, Pultusk and Nowy Dwor Mazowiecki. This year's floods included the catastrophic flood of the Vistula in the regions of Plock and Wloclawek, on the Warta in the Konin region and on the Odra in the region of Kostrzyn.

During those two years of disaster, our combat engineers protected 190 objects. They used 1,284 motor vehicles, 55 helicopters, 210 self-propelled ferries and 5 pontoon bridge assemblies. As a result of this activity combat engineers evacuated 53,385 civilians, transported 67,749 people to work, evacuated 45,639 heads of livestock, 4,296 tons of personal possessions and tools, delivered 880 tons of food, 1,934 tons of construction materials, freed 146 kilometers of ice jams and reinforced 170 kilometers of protective dykes. They used 191 tons of high explosives and emplaced 3,890 explosive charges. Their effort amounted to a total of 149,000 working days.

[Question] These actions of our combat engineers are known and valued not only at home but also abroad....

[Answer] Our combat engineers have participated in many mine clearing actions in the Near East [Middle East]. Initially as part of the Special Polish Military D tachment of the United Nations Armed Forces Command, they cleared mines from the sands of Sinai and access roads to the guard posts, later, within the framework of the Polish Military Contingent of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Syria they participated in clearing the mines from Golan Heights. They neutralized high explosive and dangerous materials in the area of the Polish Military Hospital in Ismailia and at the military cemetery. They also brought up water and provisions to the guard posts.

I do not mention here the multifaceted participation of the engineering troops in securing a smooth course of operation in regular training maneuvers of the armies of Warsaw Pact nations.

[Question] What are the possibilities today for troops who have at their disposal the most modern equipment which makes possible full execution of all the tasks assigned to them, tasks connected with engineering security of combat operations?

[Answer] The possibilities of accomplishment of these tasks as compared to the 1950's have grown fivefold on the level of an engineering unit. Thanks to the technical progress in mechanization of engineering work, the required extent of a mission can be accomplished several times faster.

The modern equipment of engineering troops gives the cadre a difficult task of proper organization of training in many specialties, it also demands a correspondingly high level of training, not limited to the traditional training skills of bridge construction or mine warfare.

We are currently training men as high caliber river boat operators, operators and mechanics of heavy machinery for earth moving, road and bridge work, operators and mechanics for wheeled and tracked prime movers, field generator specialists, drilling machinery operators, water purification station personnel, etc.

[Question] What are the principal tasks that will be realized by the engineering troops within the next few months?

[Answer] There is a state of martial law in the country, therefore, our activities must be directed by its requirements. The patriotic duty of service to our fatherland and the contemporary requirements of a modern battlefield force us, above all, to obtain an even greater degree of effectiveness from our engineering equipment. It is a matter of time--speedy accomplishment of the mission--independence of the public transportation net, to make possible for the soldier to move in the most difficult terrain and be able to accomplish his mission in any region.

We are undertaking work aimed at an improvement of the parameters of [our] machinery, to see what are the conditions necessary to increase their effectiveness and efficiency, maneuverability, capability to turn about, reduction of weight, reduction in the number of gages and accessories. We are also concerned with universalization of machinery, elimination of a number of attachments, better adaptability of the equipment to work at night and under other unfavorable conditions, in contaminated areas and in difficult terrain, under various atmospheric and climatic conditions.

While we are perfecting our training process we shall continue, even to a greater degree, to render extensive support to the national economy. In 1982, we shall continue construction and rebuilding of bridges--we have

accepted (for completion) 26 tasks in this area—we will, among others, repair and reconstruct the wooden bridge over the Vistula at Deblin. This bridge, which was seriously damaged in the 1963 flood, requires extensive repair and modernization. I'll admit that we have a personal stake in the retention of this bridge—it is one of two "war bridges" in the nation, i.e., it was constructed during the war, in combat. The second of these bridges is in Wyszogrod, it was saved this year by the soldiers of the Warsaw Combat Engineer Brigade from Kazun.

[Question] What wishes should we pass on to engineering troops on the occasion of their celebration?

[Answer] Further achievements in combat skills training, political and specialist training and many satisfactions that come from achievement of difficult, but honorable missions. Missions which emanate not only from their obligation as soldiers but also those which emerged in connection with the introduction of a state of martial law in the nation.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

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POLAND

BRIEFS

NEW YOUTH PUBLICATION--A new youth periodical is now available to readers: GAZETA MLODYCH, a ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] publication. The first issue will be dated 28-31 May, and 150,000 copies will be printed. GAZETA MLODYCH will be issued twice a week, on Tuesdays and Fridays, and will be concerned with all fundamental problems and complaints of the young generation. Although GAZETA MLODYCH is making its first appearance on the mass readers' market, it is already familiar to ZSMP members and activists, since 20 special issues have appeared for intraorganizational use during the last five months. [by r] [Excerpt] [Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 27 May 82 p 5]

CSO: 2600/650

ROLE OF PUBLIC PROSECUTOR IN ENSURING OBSERVANCE OF LAWS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 5, 5 Mar 82 pp 19-21

Article by Nicolae Popovici, prosecutor general: "The Continual Strengthening of Socialist Legality--a Major Objective of the Activity of the Organs of the Prosecutor's Office"

Text Along with continual concern for carrying out the programs for economic and social development, our party and state devote special attention to protecting the basic values of the socialist order, the independence and sovereignty of the homeland, national wealth and the property of all citizens, to strengthening public order and peace. In this context, the basic orientations of the policy of our party and state in the field of preventing and combating negative manifestations constitute a unified whole with a scientific, realistic character, and the activity of preventing and firmly combating acts that present social danger is based on knowing deeply and applying the objective laws that operate in this field, in each stage of construction of the socialist society. This has made it possible to adopt a scientific political and legal strategy, to organize efficient actions for preventing and, as the case may be, relentlessly combating violations of the law.

In orienting the whole activity of prevention, our party, starting from the dialectical connection between the material and spiritual factors, constantly provides for the development of the technical-material base, the improvement of production relations and the continual growth of the standard of living and has in view the changes in the structure of society and the special role of political, ideological, cultural and educational activity. Socialist ownership generates a new type of interhuman relations in which the working people, owners, producers and beneficiaries of the results of their labor, participate within the framework of new relations of collaboration in the general progress of the country. The growing homogenization of society, of the basic social interests, a lawlike consequence of the improvement in socialist production relations, offers the conditions needed for gradually eliminating the causes generating acts that present social danger, in order to prevent violations of the law, negative manifestations. All the instruments and factors that society possesses (the state bodies, the youth and public organizations, the cultural and educational institutions, the system of legal and ethical norms and so on) are involved, under the leadership of the party, in the extensive activity of cultivating and developing respect and support for the law, an advanced attitude in the citizens toward

work and toward civic duties. In this framework, an important role goes to the militant attitude of public opinion, of the work staffs, for stamping out backward mentalities and practices.

A special contribution to forming and perfecting a new model of social conduct comes from the educational factors within our society, the formation of them into a system of bodies and organizations that use specific means and methods to carry out an educational activity of which the raising of the level of general education, of civilized behavior in society, and the precise observance of the laws of our state constitute the main goal.

Starting from the objective requirements for increasing the role of the conscious factor in forming the spiritual makeup of the man of the socialist and communist society, the secretary general of the party has stressed repeatedly the necessity of intensifying the political education, of mobilizing all factors and aspects of this activity. "In the forefront," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "there must stand the political and educational activity of persuading each citizen about the responsibility that he has of firmly respecting the laws of the country, the norms of social cohabitation, the discipline and order of our society. With this end in view, we must do everything so that the citizens, especially the youth of our homeland, know the laws and the principles of cohabitation and respect them, live and work in full agreement with them."

The realistic approach and the matter of organizing on scientific bases the fight to prevent and combat acts that present social danger are characteristic of the political and legal activity of our state. In this regard, in order to protect the basic values of society, the state bodies combine the activity of persuasion with that of compulsion, giving priority to preventing the violation of the laws.

Familiarity by all citizens with the decisions of our party and state, with the content of the laws, represents an important factor in the activity of education. Our society is not content with the presumption that the laws are known, but acts continually and in many forms so that the citizens may effectively assimilate the legal provisions. As has been noted in social practice, however, some laws--which are of particular importance for properly carrying out economic and social activity--are not known to a sufficient extent, although they are published and explained at length in the press, discussed in various forms of political and ideological training, in general assemblies, in work staffs and so on. In some socialist units, the thorough studying of the legal provisions is not provided and the steps needed in order to go directly from knowing the laws to applying them are not taken in time. Such shortcomings are detrimental to the fulfillment of the tasks, help to maintain in the respective units manifestations of bureaucratism and superficiality in applying the laws and decisions of our state.

The activity of popularizing and of assimilating the content of the regulatory acts must not be limited only to knowing the penalties provided by law for not observing one legal provision or another--as also happens in some units--but presupposes, above all, an understanding of the social, political and ethical content of the legal regulations, the exact meaning of them. Expressing the exigencies of the socialist society, the laws of our country have a strong educational character, serve as an effective instrument for influencing civic behavior. While the fear of punishment can lead merely to temporary abstention from violating the law, through the providing of

understanding and freely consented assimilation of the content of the laws an influence is exercised on the consciousness of the persons, which leads to the improvement of the behavior of the citizens toward the protected social values, the activation of their position toward the violation of the legal order. It thus follows that the political and educational activity of explaining the laws of the country must not be limited to formally informing the citizens but must be centered particularly around the content of the regulatory acts, around the establishment of the methods and means of precisely applying them, so that observance of the laws, of order and discipline, asserts itself as a natural civic duty, as a freely consented practice of everyone.

The man of the socialist society is characterized by high moral qualities, incompatible with the egoistic and backward mentalities that can generate acts of indiscipline. The cultivation of traits such as love for the homeland and the party, concern for the protection and development of socialist property, a revolutionary and innovative spirit, an advanced attitude toward work, honesty and correctitude in family life and so on provides the most favorable climate for each citizen to be able to make to the utmost his contribution to the progress of society, to the prosperity of the socialist homeland. In this regard, it is necessary to accentuate the concerns for molding civic behavior, to overcome the routine manifested in the activity of some educational personnel, to apply firm measures for eliminating those influences that still act on the conduct of the persons tempted to commit violations. Under these conditions, the intensification of the complex and multilateral political and educational activity will help more and more to gradually reduce the number of negative manifestations and, implicitly, the infractions. However, the attainment of this objective constitutes an action of a long duration.

The conclusions that have been drawn from an examination of violations of the law, especially those directed against public property, of order and discipline, and of the various negative manifestations connected with a parasitic view of life, bring out the requirement of performing on a higher plane the activities for combating acts that present social danger. The efforts of all the factors involved in preventing infractions and in promptly discovering, investigating, judging and holding responsible the culprits must be concentrated on this goal.

Acting firmly against the violation of legality and the neglecting of official duties, the organs of the prosecutor's office have undertaken, often together with other specialized bodies, many actions of inspection regarding observance of the laws in economic units, on which occasion violations of labor discipline, ignorance of important legal provisions and disregard for labor-protection standards and technological discipline were found. The finding of these shortcomings, the notification of the economic units' managements and the higher bodies, and the taking of steps by them to eliminate the deficiencies found have helped to prevent acts that could have caused significant harm to the respective units.

In accordance with the requirements for the strengthening of socialist legality, it is necessary to increase the role of the organs of the prosecutor's office, which must ensure strict observance of the legal norms--without, of course, taking the place of the bodies on which responsibilities devolve in the sectors of activity inspected. To this end, it is necessary to start from thorough knowledge of the social and economic realities, of the state of legality, and of the data and findings procured in all the work departments of the units of the prosecutor's office. The current requirements for applying the principles of self-administration and

self-financing in the economic activity of each enterprise and the great complexity of the relations in the sphere of material production make it necessary for the organs of the prosecutor's office to accord greater importance to knowing the new economic and financial mechanism, in order to rigorously establish the causes and conditions that permit the commission of infractions or other violations of the law in the economy.

In order to obtain greater efficiency in the actions of inspection, the accent must be put on improving their quality, in the sense of more thorough documentation, of detailed preparation in order to make it possible to discover all violations of the law. The organs of the prosecutor's office have the duty to follow with more exactingness the manner of resolution of the problems raised in the tips given to the managements of the socialist units, so as to ensure the reestablishment of legality and the matter of calling the guilty persons to account.

The exigencies of the current stage of development of our socialist society make absolutely necessary the strengthening of order and discipline in work, a high spirit of responsibility for the continual performance of production with maximum efficiency, the good management, protection and development of socialist property--an asset of the whole populace. These major imperatives are in full agreement with the real necessities for developing our national economy, correspond to society's interests regarding progress, to the goal of continually increasing the well-being of the people. The strengthening of order and discipline in production is an extremely important and topical task of the collective leaderships of the units, which have the duty to firmly punish any manifestation of disorder and nonobservance of the technological standards and the labor-protection standards.

In this context, State Council Decree No 400 of 29 December 1981 is also of particular importance for the organs of the prosecutor's office, whose contribution to ensuring the observance of the laws in economic activity, to strengthening the order and discipline in the economy, must be intensified and achieved with exactingness and firmness. For steadily applying the legal provisions, for establishing a climate of firm discipline and order in all units, there devolves upon the organs of the prosecutor's office, together with the bodies of the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Justice, the important task of helping the socialist units in the activity of knowing the regulatory provisions that involve the observance of order and discipline in work, of pursuing the strict observance of these provisions, taking, when necessary, the most efficient steps to firmly combat any violations of the legal provisions, including by holding the culprits criminally responsible.

The requirements for normally carrying out the production process must be respected precisely, since the exemplary attainment of all the objectives established by the 12th congress is possible only in a climate of profound order and discipline, of strong involvement in work by all members of our society, of better use of all material and technical resources.

The documents of the party have consistently pointed out that the fight against the manifestation of infractions must be based on the law and carried out in strict compliance with its provisions. In accordance with the principle of the presumption of innocence, the state bodies have the obligation to provide proof, in each particular case, of guilt and of the seriousness of the acts that they investigate.

The observance and application of these principles have important educational and preventive effects, since an effective system of punishment, built on the foundation of norms that exclude the idea of arbitrariness and abuse, which involves the wide masses of people in the dispensing of justice, helps to consolidate the feeling of trust in justice and acts positively on the formation and development of the socialist legal consciousness of the citizens.

The wide participation of the collectivity in the fight for the observance of the laws, for the prevention and combating of infractions and other negative manifestations, represents a major factor of the success in this important social activity. For precisely this reason, there are attracted to the dispensing of justice the wide masses of working people, public opinion, which are working steadily for the maintenance of social order and discipline, for the strict observance of civic duties, and are exhibiting intransigence toward those who have violated the law.

Acting in various forms and methods, participating in the discovery and prosecution of the culprits, in the work of dispensing justice and in the organization of the execution of the penalties applied to the culprits, the collectivity can and is managing to contribute actively and effectively to the strengthening of the legal order. In December 1977, the Romanian Communist Party stressed, in this regard, the necessity of continually improving the framework for direct participation by the collectivity in preparing and applying the laws, in dispensing justice.

In the activity of discovering, prosecuting and punishing negative manifestations there have been some shortcomings, criticized at the Second Congress of People's Councils, where Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, stated that it is not granted that the firmness toward those who violate the laws may be weakened out of the fear of committing abuses. As a result of this criticism, new steps have been taken to increase the effectiveness and militancy manifested in discovering, investigating and judging the culprits and to more firmly punish those who commit serious acts of violence, the parasitic elements, those who defy the norms of social cohabitation, disturb public peace and order, encroach upon public property or that of the citizens.

At the joint plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and the Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development in November 1981, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated: "Firm action must be taken against violations and abuses, seeing strictly to the observance of socialist legality, so that no one may be punished unjustly. But with the same severity and strictness it is necessary to see to the punishment of those guilty of violating the laws."

Always having these orientations and instructions in mind, the organs of the prosecutor's office are continually intensifying their efforts and concerns for ensuring strict observance of the laws and of the basic rights of the citizens in such a way that no person may be called to account unless there is unquestionable proof of guilt. On the basis of the same instructions, a goal being pursued, with perseverance and exactingness, is that no violation of socialist legality may go undiscovered and no person may be able to avoid the application of the measures provided by law for the acts committed.

Humanism reflects, above all, concern for the honest citizens of our homeland, who obey the law and participate actively in the general progress. From this viewpoint,

socialist humanism implies, at the same time, a firm, militant attitude toward those who commit infractions, because the protection of personal and collective interests must be provided.

Exhibiting devotion, abnegation and revolutionary spirit, the prosecutors are acting to fulfill, at the level of the current requirements, the tasks mapped out by the leadership of our party and state, increasing the quality and efficiency of the activity for firmly combating any violations of the law, for strengthening the order and discipline in all sectors of activity, and for consistently promoting the principles of socialist ethics and equity.

The creative effervescence characteristic of our party's mode of working also prescribes further for the organs of the prosecutor's office the intensification of the efforts to improve the theoretical and practical instruments for the fight against negative acts of conduct--manifestations incompatible with the moral exigencies of our society--and to raise the social consciousness and the behavior of the citizens to a higher level. The attainment of these important objectives presupposes thorough knowledge of the concrete conditions under which negative acts appear and, on this basis, the scientific organization of the whole activity of preventing and combating them. This major concern constitutes one of the forms in which the organs of the prosecutor's office, acting with abnegation and passion, are expressing their total adherence to the policy of our party, for the economic and social development of the homeland, for the raising of the material and spiritual well-being of the whole populace.

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'FORMALISM,' OTHER DEFECTS IN TEACHING ACTIVITY REVEALED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 5, 5 Mar 82 pp 25-27

Article by Prof Toma Mares: "Tendencies and Countertendencies in the Education of the School Youth"

Text The purpose of education from the earliest age is to help the children, in general the youth, understand the profound phenomena and changes that are occurring in our society, to form their conviction about the necessity of the participation of everyone, according to his own power and capacity, in the social and economic development of the homeland.

Education for school and production is decisive in forming the character traits of the youth, in accentuating their social responsibility, in actively involving them in the life of the country. Extensive experience has been accumulated in this field over the years, with various methods and forms being used and applied.

The education and development of the children, of the youth, in the spirit of revolutionary patriotism represent one of the basic concerns of the school and, of course, of the child and youth organizations. Many activities (discussions, documentary visits, competitions, spoken journals and so on) for knowing the orientations established by the party, the directions of development of our society and the great efforts that the working people in the cities and villages are making in order to raise the country to a high level of civilization are organized with this end in view. The "Tot Inainte" Ever Onward patriotic action, devoted to the most representative social and political events in the life of the party and the people, to the great historical anniversaries and to other remarkable events in the life of the country, is enjoying wide participation.

The involvement of the pupils in the activities of the technical and applicative circles, in the production work in shops and enterprises, represents another important aspect within education. This helps to directly involve the school youth in the general construction effort, to make them aware of the necessity of being trained and developed to be able to participate with their own forces and in a creative way in the general well-being and progress.

A wide framework of actions and events thus exists and considerable experience has also been accumulated. Under these conditions, what are the reasons that cause the general effectiveness of educational activities to not rise, in some cases, to the anticipated level?

The number of pupils with unsuitable results in learning, with reprovable behavior in school and society, who exhibit indifference or a tendency to avoid various activities, is still quite high. This persuades us to dwell on some of the causes that generate, even at this tender age, certain traits that become more pronounced as the years pass.

A primary cause, in our opinion, is that in organizing the various events that involve the political and civic development of the school youth a number of elementary psychopedagogical requirements for adapting the content and form of these activities to the age characteristics of the pupils are not respected sufficiently. Unsuitable procedures and forms that, taken from adults, go beyond the understanding and strain the minds of the children, requiring of them a knowledge and an evaluation of social realities far beyond their level of training and experience of life, are often imposed. In the practice of educational work the same conferences as for adults, with many theoretical ideas, with principles and recommendations, are often held for pupils, without there being the concern, so essential in fact, for seeing what and how much the pupils have gotten from all of this.

Things are also similar with some activities within the "Cintarea Romaniei" Song of Romania National Festival or the "Daciada," which take up much of the free time of the youth. The effectiveness of these events depends on the way in which they are organized, on the proportioning of them, on the attraction of the interest of the pupils by providing a suitable content and as attractive methods of holding them as possible, in as individualized a way as possible, in small groups and in the open air, with much movement and with as wide a horizon of knowledge as possible. It is true that events of their kind are easier to carry out at the level of the whole school, but the forced, mandatory and undifferentiated participation of the pupils generates, especially in the lower grades, misunderstanding and boredom, which have the effect of reducing their interest in such activities.

The majority of the teaching personnel, although aware of the formalism that thus makes way for itself in educational work, continue to act in this way by virtue of inertia and laziness or because it is too hard for them to introduce remedies on the fly. It is true that some teachers and educators have often pointed out such drawbacks, coming with concrete proposals, requesting the help of the bodies with powers in the activity of guidance and decisionmaking. But those called upon to analyze them and take the proper steps often give them little attention and consequently, instead of studying the shortcomings and going thoroughly into the causes that generate them, they resort to simple palliatives, which maintain and sometimes even accentuate the formalism in educational activity.

In the face of such situations, the circle of low educational effectiveness closes, because the formal attitude generates further formalism in its content and forms. In order to be safe from criticism, in order to say that things are going well, it happens that, ultimately, sole attention is devoted to the figures that are reported, thus distorting the real content of the work of education. For example, it was reported that, this year, nearly 75 percent of the pupils in the general schools in Teleorman County are included in the technical and applicative circles and those for subjects. As a result of an inspection made, however, it was possible to find that in the schools in Rosiori, Alexandria and other localities in the county the inclusion of pupils in such circles does not exceed 35 percent.

The schools reported high percentages in order to conform to the parameters set for the county. But these parameters do not take into account the real conditions existing: the inadequacy of the specialized personnel for running the circles with a technical and applicative makeup, the excessive demand on the space of the schools that operate with two and three shifts, the material base available and so on. Nevertheless, the objective conditions do not justify the lack of responsibility of the administrations of schools that have been content, for years in succession, to prepare tables and transmit false figures, instead of acting concretely to train and improve--through the system created at the level of the county--the necessary teaching personnel, to provide the material base by properly using the existing funds.

Similar situations are also encountered with regard to the reports on inclusion of pupils in the mass actions within the "Cintarea Romaniei" National Festival and the "Daciada." If one were to believe the figures reported for all kinds of educational activities--under the conditions in which a pupil normally participates in at most two regular activities--one would come to the paradoxical conclusion that the school population is 2-3 times higher than it really is!

From where does the tendency to prepare such reports come? In our opinion, the cause is that, in general, it starts from the idea that, since the effects of educational work cannot be measured accurately, cannot be standardized according to strict units of measure, the activity of education, as such, cannot be rigorously controlled either.

So that the effectiveness of educational work would not be evaluated only according to the percentage of pupils promoted, the Ministry of Education and Instruction established a system of indicators that was to provide a more complex and more objective judgment.* We feel that this system of indicators has some real advantages, but, in fact, it is also based on quantitative evaluations--which will not completely eliminate reports like those mentioned. We have the conviction that only through a combined effort of the educators, psychologists, sociologists and so on is it possible to find criteria that would stop the tendency toward formalism and more deeply involve each educator in the development of the younger generation.

Another element is the insufficient training of teaching personnel who coordinate the educational work at the level of the school in the capacity of commander-instructors of units or UTC Union of Communist Youth/ guide-educational directors. What could we really expect from a recent college graduate to whom, even in the first years of the profession of teacher, such responsibilities are entrusted? It is true that the young personnel must be used with much confidence to carry out and coordinate the educational activity in schools, but not before they know well the specific character of the work and gain a little experience. The lack of a minimum of knowledge and experience explains, in nearly every case, the difficulties that recent college graduates encounter in fulfilling educational tasks. Although the party organizations in schools know and understand the often objective difficulties that young teaching personnel encounter in this regard, there is still the tendency for precisely them to be responsible for guiding the educational work--and this often even in educational units that have many teaching personnel.

* Ioan Jinga, "What Does the School Expect from Pedagogical Research for Raising the Level of Education of the Youth?", ERA SOCIALISTA, No 3, 1982.

As long as the quality of the studying and the necessity of combating mediocrity in learning are discussed as things in themselves, separate from all of their social implications, in the counseling hours, within the child and youth organizations or at various events--as happens in many cases--the pupils will not truly understand that the matter of their currently being trained as well as possible represents an essential condition for their future participation, at levels of high efficiency, in production, in cultural life, on a social and political plane and so on. Only by starting from a wide view, from an engaging interpretation of the training for work and life, is it possible to bring about a change for the better in the pupils' results in learning and in their behavior in school and society.

The erroneous conviction that the educational value of some activities is conditioned by their festive character, by having the number of pupils participating be a big as possible, by increasing their awareness through deliberately spectacular effects, continues to manifest itself in the mentality of educators with duties along the line of guiding the child and youth organizations. But, because in this way attention is devoted mainly to the aspects of form, to the detriment of those of content, the real, basic effectiveness of such events remains unsatisfactory.

The evocation of the historical past of the country, of the people, combined with pointing out the profound changes on a social and economic plane in our days, offers various and highly effective methods for the communist education of the youth. In the welcome and extremely useful actions of evoking the historical past, however, the new, socialist elements in the life of the country are not rarely presented in just a general way. On that occasion, it is also useful to put an accent on the general trends and directions of social progress, correlating them with the concrete elements in the reality of the localities or zones in which the pupils and their families live and work.

It is true that our school youth have been born and have grown up concurrently with our historical present. In consequence, the accomplishments in various fields, the evolution of social and economic development, seem natural, completely self-evident to them. But this is precisely why they are interested very greatly in the meaning, the implications of the revolutionary achievements and changes in our country. The interest of the pupils cannot be attracted by generalities, by the repetition of the same abstract statements that they also hear on the occasion of various political and educational events--and this under the conditions in which each particular pupil himself knows far more concrete aspects of economic and social life, seen "live" or discovered on radio or television, in newspapers and so on. It is not possible to count on educational effectiveness in the activities of this nature except by basing them on the realities of life, not in a formal way but by approaching these realities in depth, revealing their implications, discussing and explaining on the basis of them the processes, the trends in the development of society, of the economy.

Let us not underestimate the pupils! It is known that, in general, children, young people have a great thirst for discovery, for understanding. It is thus all the more incumbent upon the educators to maintain and stimulate such a desire for knowledge. But it must be well understood that, regarding this open interest of the pupils, if things are done in an unsuitable way--without taking into account their level and possibilities of understanding or, on the contrary, by underestimating them or using methods and forms unsuited to their age--they will participate only out of obligation in educational activities, and their concerns will be turned in other directions.

Similar observations can also be made about the scientific-materialistic and atheistic education of the school youth. In nearly all localities in the country, symposiums, roundtables and discussions on these matters are organized and mandatory plans of measures and subjects are established--which is undoubtedly positive. In practice, however, in carrying out these activities, people often resort also to generalities, to the assertion of aspects of principle--they too having an important role, of course--but with too few concrete arguments referring to the manifestations and consequences of religious phenomena in the life of young people and their families and to the forms and methods used to prevent religious influences at various ages. Even in some localities in areas where the degree of religiosity is more marked--that is, where it is all the more necessary to lay stress on scientific-materialistic education and on combating mystical views and customs, starting from realities of life--these matters are approached quite timidly, hesitantly, and in this way the pupils are not helped sufficiently to form and consolidate their atheistic convictions, to themselves take a critical position toward religious ideas and practices.

Consequently, there must be basic changes with regard to the mentality that exists in quite many teaching personnel in connection with the way in which various activities with an educational character in schools must be conceived, organized and carried out. It is not easy to make education effective. For this purpose there must be suitable knowledge and experience, likewise self-sacrifice and passion, as well as many and constant efforts.

It is sometimes asserted that anyone could do the work of education. Is this really so? We cannot agree with such an opinion. In fact, the shortcomings and formalism in the activity of education to which we referred start precisely from this erroneous view. To educate is an art that the one who practices it must do with competence, with passion and with high social responsibility. Above all, the one who does the work of education must himself be very well educated, must be thoroughly trained professionally, on the basis of the newest gains of science, must have the capacity to know in depth the personality of the man in the making, must be aware of the current and future requirements for the development of society.

Ignorance of the child's personality causes an educator to organize actions that suit adults but not pupils. The school youth's participation in various events is sometimes formal precisely because they are not "theirs," the pupils being insufficiently prompted and stimulated to conceive, organize and carry out their own actions.

The tendency to transfer from adult to child the methods of organizing and carrying out the activities is encountered quite frequently. Consequently, even the school festivals, prepared by adults in their own view and understanding, sometimes have the same themes and manner of being held as the productions for the "big ones." The itineraries of tourist trips and excursions are sometimes established by adults in order to conform to their own desires. In addition, the providing of political information to pupils and the circles for political discussions achieved with the pioneers take place, not rarely, like the discussions in the ideological education for teaching personnel. This can only make pupils indifferent toward certain activities initiated by a school or organization. In this way the premises are created so that after graduating from school these young people continue to participate in social and political life as spectators, expecting others to think or even to act for them.

The providing of good psychopedagogical training to teaching personnel seems to be a basic requirement. No matter what his specialty may be, the teacher must be, above

all, a good educator, must know how to work with pupils, must know the psychology of the child, his mode of thinking, in order to be able to establish educational strategies specific to his age.

It is necessary for those who are involved in the training of future teaching personnel to find the best solutions to qualify them not only as good specialists for the transmission of knowledge but also as good educators, capable of forming convictions and aptitudes, of molding the moral and political makeup of the youth. We must recognize that, during university training, the future teaching personnel are not offered the possibility of knowing concrete methods of collaborating with the family, with the child and youth organizations, of carrying out forms of political and educational work included in the school program or in the extracurricular activities.

There has been much discussion recently about the practical psychopedagogical training of future teaching personnel, but it is limited only to 10-12 instances of assisting in classes and to a few teaching lessons, the "new" thing being the fact that a good step taken a few years ago has been abandoned--namely the participation of the students at colleges with a teaching specialty, during summer vacations, in the practical activity at the camps for pioneers and pupils and in the preparation and performance of the actions initiated by the palaces of the pioneers and the heroes of the homeland or by the vacation clubs in various localities.

It is necessary to combat and eliminate definitively the habit of some teaching personnel of waiting for instructions, schemes and plans of "model" activities or the presence of a representative of the guidance and control body who would help to organize and carry out the various political and educational events.

The majority of the teaching personnel who are asked to conduct technical and applicative circles or those for subjects, trips, excursions and so on, about which they received in college just a little general methodical advice, are put in a difficult situation. Because during the period of university studies the teachers were not helped to understand the formative value of extracurricular educational activities, many of them regard as optional their training and advanced training for carrying out political and educational activities as well as possible. Such an attitude toward educational work--which represents, in fact, a foremost professional obligation--is also the result of the way in which some school inspectors carry out their activities of guidance and control, judging the work of the teaching personnel only according to the results obtained in the specialized inspection.

The act of introducing into the advanced-training and retraining programs for teaching personnel some material about the duties and the work that they perform in the capacity of guides of the organizations of heroes of the homeland, the pioneer organizations and the UTC organizations would help greatly to improve their mode of working. In addition, not only should talks about educational work be given but also, through discussions and practical activities, personal experiences in the field of education should be analyzed. Under the current conditions, when a creative spirit is manifesting itself in all fields, it is all the more necessary to go from "saying" to "doing" in the system for advanced training and retraining of teaching personnel.

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'UNPRINCIPLED' LITERARY CRITICISM DEPLORED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 5, 5 Mar 82 p 39

Article by D. Valentin in the column "Review of Reviews": "An Appeal to Principled-ness in Criticism"

Text In the periodical LUCEAFARUL of 20 February of this year, Mihnea Gheorghiu has an article of particular interest regarding the climate of our cultural and artistic life. The matter is an old one and it was often in the center of attention, acquiring, unfortunately, undesirable aspects too, which did nothing but deflect the literary discussion from its main goal: the work and value of the creator of culture.

The article to which we are referring is titled "Intellectual Discipline," involving therefore that important, obligatory condition of any public manifestation in the realm of culture. In its absence--the author indicates--the irregularities are incalculable and they affect profoundly the value system of an entire epoch. "The general public," Mihnea Gheorghiu writes, "notes with astonishment and regret that, especially in the world of the arts, in which chance and improvisation sometimes put genius and imposture on the same pedestal, the moderating and educational role of criticism often abandons its ethical and aesthetic calling, getting entangled in 'drawing-room' arguments (a euphemism, of course) between the personal vanities of the parties and, it goes without saying, to the detriment of the scientific and ideological objectivity to which its social function commits it."

The phenomenon is, in general, familiar. Thus, in criticism, for instance, the analysis of the work was replaced with the analysis of the "case," and the examination of the value proper of works, with the imposition of criteria without any connection to the creative act, which stigmatized both the work and (especially) the one who produced it. But, according to a famous saying, "the writer must write." And so a new kind of writer has made his appearance, one who, because of not being heeded as much as he would like, initiates campaigns of reprisals, personal attacks, calumny. Such an attitude does nothing but alienate the lover of culture from his object, turning him onto the insidious paths of scandal and insinuations of all sorts. And consequently, as Mihnea Gheorghiu notes with good reason, "Through escalation, there arises that journalism in which arbitrariness and violence become rules of conduct in disregard for public interests." It is no wonder that in cultural life there still appear overnight vehement and authoritarian little "associations" that arrogate to themselves the right to have, themselves, the last word. In the absence of that "intellectual discipline" integral to any act of creation or of reception of values,

they adopt the mask of principledness, which nonetheless cannot hide the true face of things. Due to a harmful clan consciousness, the professional writers are affected, they not being in the position of being able to respond to the accusations--ever standard--of moral bankruptcy. The patronage of publications by these "associations" also has negative repercussions on the spirit of the respective periodicals.

It cannot be overlooked that the prestigious periodicals are the only ones in a position to select their contributors according to their competence and their good faith toward the field that they represent publicly. But what really happens in the above-mentioned cases?--we can ask ourselves along with Mihnea Gheorghiu. "Has the repeated appeal to greater civic responsibility lost its effectiveness. It is perhaps worth taking into consideration the replacement and rotation of the personnel in these hierarchies ossified into the system of 'you scratch my back and I will scratch yours,' which do not do credit to an advanced intelligentsia like ours, in which the 'patrons' and the 'representatives' feel ill at ease." Pointing out the importance of creating a healthy cultural climate, the author of the article stresses the role of the intelligentsia in the history of our country, its substantial contribution to the process of emancipating the widest social strata. It was the agent of an evolution that can no longer be stopped. "Consequently," the journalist writes, "let us not allow ourselves to be compromised in the eyes of the other working people by some unprincipled inkslingers, suspect flatters or self-seeking critics, people who live off the world of others and whose professional ethics boil down to 'flattery will get you everywhere' and 'after me the flood' or 'ubi bene ibi patria.'"

The appeal to seriousness, to a consistent and firm attitude toward the harmful practices, the excesses of some of the journalists of today is a logical consequence of the above-mentioned things. Because, Mihnea Gheorghiu asserts in closing, "If the years of each--'out of the nest' or in the 'school of life'--have not been sufficient for him to straighten out the unserious about the purposes of this world and about the requirements of the socialist society (which some often 'salute' perfunctorily in trite phrases), it is the job of the people and their institutions to intervene with more convincing arguments to set them straight. Otherwise, who will do it?"

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ETHNOGRAPHY, FOLKLORE STUDIES OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 5, 5 Mar 82 p 39

Article by Buia Simion in the column "Review of Reviews": "Ethnography and Folklore Studies on the Hungarian Nationality in Romania"

Text In issue No 6, 1982, the Bucharest weekly A HET has an extensive interview done by Gyorgy Beke with Jozsef Farago, a well-known researcher of Hungarian folklore in Romania, who has devoted 40 years--of the 60 recently reached--to studying and popularizing the folklore of the Hungarian nationality in Romania. Referring to the scientific traditions of the discipline to which he has devoted himself and pointing out the European level of the studies of precursors like Lajos Gyorgy, Attila S. Szabo and Bela Gunda, he stresses that thorough and systematic research on the folklore of the Hungarian nationality in Romania became possible under the socialist regime through the founding, in 1969, of a specialized institute, which now operates with the status of a section of the Center for Social Sciences within "Babes-Bolyai" University in Cluj-Napoca. Romanian, Hungarian and German ethnographers and folklorists perform continual activity there, in the spirit of comradely cooperation and understanding, with the professional researchers also coordinating the work of a large number of amateur collaborators.

The research on Hungarian folklore in Romania involves mainly folk poetry and music, it being extended step by step to the other specialized fields too. Over the years, it has been concretized in many studies and books, having among their authors authoritative researchers, even known abroad, such as Janos Raduly or Erno Albert, who is present nowadays in bookstores with the volume "Balade Populare din Trei Scaune" [Folk Ballads from Trei Scaune]. In context, Jozsef Farago mentions the collection of "Ethnographic Studies" (NEPISMERETI DOLGOZATOK), which comes out under the editorship of him and Dr Karoly Kos and constitutes an important periodical, an inspiring forum for the Hungarian folklorists and ethnographers in Romania.

The Hungarian folklorists in Transylvania maintain relations of close collaboration with a large number of writers, with the spiritual treasure of the Hungarian peasants also being handed down to posterity through the books of Gyorgy Bozodi and Istvan Horvath and through the collections of a scientific standard done with the collaboration of Andras Suto and Gyula Szabo--the latter being one of the passionate researchers of the folk culture of the Csangos in Moldavia. In addition, the publication of five volumes of Romanian folk ballads in a Hungarian translation, a result of more than a decade of work, is owed to poet Jeno Kiss.

The increased interest in the works of the Hungarian ethnographers and folklorists in Romania--Jozsef Farago feels--is explained by the fact that in Romania, as a result of the great changes during the years of socialism, the preservation of the true values of the masses of Romanian, Hungarian and German people and the other cohabiting nationalities has become a "public cause," a major matter in the cultural policy promoted by the Romanian socialist state. In our socialist order, the unobstructed spiritual development of the various nationalities constitutes a palpable reality that has opened up new horizons for folklore too. In our country--the Cluj researcher observes--folklore no longer constitutes merely a spiritual legacy of the peasantry, but a possession of the Hungarian nationality, a possession of all citizens of our socialist homeland. Knowledge of one's own folklore by each of the cohabiting nationalities in Romania constitutes a basic factor in self-knowledge, and mutual knowledge of the folklore belonging to the other nationalities helps to strengthen the brotherly collaboration and friendship between them. In the spiritual climate in socialist Romania, ethnography and folkloristic research, along with linguistics and the history of literature and the arts, have gained a place of honor among the disciplines that study the specific traits of the Hungarian cohabiting nationality.

We gather from the above-mentioned interview that the activity of the Hungarian folklorists is also known and appreciated on an international level, with special merit going in this regard to the Kriterion Publishing House, which, in the spirit of the cultural policy promoted by our party, stimulates the publication of works of Hungarian folklore and ethnography in Transylvania. Many of these books have come to be known abroad and are enjoying well-deserved prestige. Not by chance, they are also mentioned in the specialized bibliographic publication brought out by UNESCO, a fact that implicitly constitutes recognition of the positive results obtained by the researchers of Hungarian folklore and ethnography in Romania.

An expression of the long cohabitation in this area, of the joint efforts to forge a better life and of the spiritual interdependencies resulting from this cohabitation, Hungarian folklore and ethnography in our homeland have been and are in a process of continual interaction with the folk creation belonging to the Romanian nation and the nationality of German ethnic origin. Naturally, therefore--Jozsef Farago points out out--comparative research on folkloric creation is the order of the day, in view of the fact that without taking into consideration and properly appreciating the spiritual values taken from other peoples it is not possible to achieve thorough knowledge of a people's folklore. "In the course of my career," he says, "in each decade I have undertaken at least one action of extensive joint comparative research on which I have worked together with the Romanian specialists in Cluj and, to some extent, in Bucharest."

At present--as follows from the interview given--the Cluj researcher is preparing an extensive volume of comparative collections of Hungarian and Romanian ballads. Animated by the spirit of brotherly collaboration, the Hungarian folklorists in Romania, together with their Romanian and German colleagues, are performing a vast activity of comparative research, with their joint efforts being rewarded with fruitful results that respond to growing scientific, cultural and educational needs.

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EFFECT OF SOCIAL HOMOGENIZATION ON THE YOUTH

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Jan-Feb 82 pp 99-103

[Article by Liliana Mihut of the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy, Cluj-Napoca]

[Text] I. A basic characteristic of the succession of various moments in the history of social-political thought lies in giving a privileged spot to certain concepts. The situation may be explained not so much through what we generally call style, associating with this a certain dose of gratuity resulting from the obsession with and overbidding on what is new; despite the fact that we speak of concepts which are "in style," a more careful analysis leads us toward the idea that the frequency of utilizing or approaching them at a given moment is determined more by the share, the value of the reality which it designates in proportion to social existence and awareness.

We feel that this is the case of the concept of social homogenization present in Romania's social-political literature in the last decade and, more especially, in the years following adoption of the party's program, a document which explicitly brings out the coordinates along which the process takes place of the formation of the unified society of all workers. The report presented at the 12th party congress shows that this process is determined by the working and living conditions in the city and village getting closer and closer, by eliminating the basic differences between physical and intellectual work on the basis of development of material production and growth in social labor productivity; the process means the classes and social categories continually get closer with regard to working conditions, technical-vocational horizon and general culture and mode of material and spiritual life.¹ Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the anniversary of 60 years since establishment of the Romanian Communist Party, by approaching the problem of homogenization of the socialist nation, stressed that there is particular importance in this framework in providing full equality of rights for all citizens, regardless of nationality.

Social-political literature offers numerous definitions and characterizations of the homogenization process, with the differences being demonstrated both in the elements or levels included in the definition as well as specifying the relations between the factors which determine it and the levels at which it takes place as well as in the treatment of the limits to this process. Among the numerous approaches to the concept, in this framework we mention just two. Oscar Hoffman defines homogenization as being "a staged process of the gradual disappearance

in the social inequalities and of erasing the basic social differences between various types of life communities (classes, strata, territorial communities and so forth) and the basic human activities (physical-intellectual work, work of leadership and execution, agricultural-industrial work)"² a definition also picked up in the volume entitled "Social Homogenization in the Socialist Republic of Romania."³ Elisabeta Traistaru and Ion Traistaru distinguish between economic, social, political and cultural homogenization.⁴ Many authors generalize homogenization at the objective and the subjective level.

Also keeping in mind other approaches to the concept, one may evaluate that in general attention has been concentrated on the so-called "objective" aspects and, more important, on the economic aspects, the "subjective" area--identified with awareness and culture--being limited to several significant indicators. In many cases, social homogenization is quartered in the area of the disappearance of the basic differences in the position and role of classes and social categories. In these conditions, we feel that a definition of the concept of social homogenization cannot be considered an exhausted theoretical step and, continuing with what has been mentioned, we feel that later attempts should answer the desire for rigorous approaches to a greater extent and, at the same time, utilizing in particular the data furnished by sociological research, should shape with more clarity the objective-subjective, absolute-relative and functional-nonfunctional relationship in the content of the process analyzed. Proposing to join in on these coordinates, in this article we pay attention not so much to a strict definition of homogenization but to specifying the levels and planes on which it takes place as well as to establishing the homogenization-differentiation-equality relationship.

Feeling that the society system is comprised of three subsystems--economic, social, superstructure-awareness-culture--we shall assimilate the objective on the first two levels and, on the other, the subjective level; we also will specify that, in our opinion, the social subsystem includes the class structure (and, correlated with this, the vocational-occupational structure), the structure by communities of social life (particularly the village-city), the demographic structure, the ethnic structure. As a result, these would be the levels at which we feel that the homogenization process takes place.

II. Undoubtedly, the space for this article requires us to choose one of these levels. We shall dwell on the demographic one, examining it only with regard to the structure by ages; we actually will exceed the demographic view, with attention being concentrated on the sociological aspects of the relations between generations, between young people and adults. In order to fulfill this goal, we shall resort to a secondary analysis of some of the data furnished by the Research Center for Youth Problems and a number of research collectives in Cluj-Napoca, particularly the one which studied, in 1975-1980, the formation and development of the socialist awareness of the youth. We specify that we shall have in mind young people-adult relations in the three environments in which they predominantly are demonstrated: in the family (children-parent relations), in school (professor-pupil) and in the working collective; generally the analysis will follow the structure proposed for the study of levels of homogenization.

1. For a comparison of young people-adults with regard to class structure and occupational structure, it is significant to discover some dominant points in intergenerational mobility. Without going into the details of this problem, we feel it timely to state that the research made in Romania refutes both the theses on the quasi-absolute reproduction by descendants of both the parents' class and occupation as well as those--just as unilateral--on the categorical rejection of this reproduction by the new generations. One of the most significant characteristics lies in the young people's reaching a level of qualification which is just above or equal to that of their parents (generally, the father). So the young qualified and unqualified workers to the greatest extent come from qualified and unqualified workers and peasants; young engineers, in particular, come from intellectuals.⁵ Interpreting this fact from a different angle, another research brought out that the sons of workers and peasants are workers especially, while sons of office workers, technicians and intellectuals are students especially, thus, future intellectuals.⁶

We could formulate the conclusion on the existence of certain self-reproducing trends in the case of workers and intellectuals, which is significant for the homogenization process carried out under the conditions of industrial development and rise in the general level of the population's instruction. However, we should not lose sight of the aspect on the peasants' self-reproduction: although the young peasants for the most part come from parents with the same occupation, belonging to the same social class, the number of peasants' sons who practice or who choose a particular occupation is lower in relationship to the future needs, a situation which causes imbalance.

2. The last aspect correlates with the problems of the second level of analysis: the rural-urban relationship (whose characteristics and general trends we shall not treat, however, in this framework). A first statement: for young rural people, more than for adults, the village-city distance is not translated in terms of the inaccessibility of urban life but they obtain its experience more frequently, following different schools or as "commuters." At the same time, one cannot speak of a phenomenon of "rural rejection." An investigation made of some young people from the rural environment showed that they find a number of advantages in the village, linked more importantly with the atmosphere, the relations among the people; compared with the city, the disadvantages are felt to be, in particular, the lack of comfort, difficulties in access to culture and information.⁷ The determination of this situation leads us to the following idea: the disadvantages can be counteracted by modernization of the village, the main way to bring rural-urban closer together, a process in which the young people have proven to be interested (as this same investigation showed); the advantages given to the village for a large part may be felt to have the value of the functional difference between rural and urban, with keeping them being desirable and foreseeable.

The analysis of the young people-adult relationship from the perspective of belonging to two environments of residence may be studied more thoroughly by referring to the studies on the village-city migration, under conditions where the maximum coefficient of migration in Romania, as in many other countries, is around the young age group. We are not dwelling on the causes for migration of the rural youth to the city, since--as was found in much research--this fits into

general typology of factors affecting the population's redistribution between village and city: economic, social-cultural, psychological family. Attention should be given to the conclusion that the factors determining migration for the most part are objective ones, referring to the persistence of certain inequalities between village and city; along with these are the subjective elements (the idea that social achievement is identified with getting a better job and a house in the city), which often amplifies the migratory trend.

The problem interesting us in particular is: what are the consequences of the young people's migration from the village to the city from the perspective of homogenization? Although the departure of a large number of young people for the city also has significance for increasing the opportunities for communication between the two environments, as a result of the fact that the migrants keep connections--particularly those with relatives--with the ones left behind, the village mainly is disfavored due to the lack of a large work potential and participation in social life, most able of providing an impetus for the modernization process. Precisely for that reason, concerns shown in Romania in recent years appear justified, concerns with providing a relative stability for the young people in the rural environment, against the backdrop of the urbanization process and within certain necessary limits of migration. On the other hand, the city, although with the arrival of migrants it satisfies the need for a labor force, particularly in the scarce branches, has to overcome certain difficulties in the social-vocational integration of this category. It has been found that, although the young migrants feel the social usefulness of their work to a greater extent and they have a degree of occupation in a productive activity higher than certain categories of city residents, they have a lower level of political knowledge and a more pronounced attachment to religious traditions.⁸ We could say that the trend to preserve certain customs, ways of behavior does not have favorable consequences from the perspective of homogenization in all cases, as a general move closer to a higher level.

The fact has been shown that development of the process of rural modernization brings a slowdown in the rate of migration; in turn, this favors the modernization process, with the return of some migrants to their areas of origin being foreseeable, as well as young people being attracted to the new agro-industrial cities.

3. Having demonstrated that motivation plays an important role in the case of young people, we shall examine the perimeter of awareness from this perspective, that is, with regard to value orientations. The value universe of young people includes many components, structured and at specific levels. An investigation made in four Cluj units--two enterprises and two secondary schools--brought out the following order of classifying six groups of values (qualities): 1. moral; 2. vocational; 3. intellectual (the last two, with similar ranking); 4. political; 5. aesthetic and physical; 6. other qualities.⁹ Attitude toward the profession, toward work, representing a component element of the area of moral, shows that the young people place moral-political values in the forefront; this conclusion is an argument for the interest shown in psychological and pedagogical literature for forming value orientations in the young people in these areas.

With regard to comparing young people and adults in this regard, we feel that the most significant data were offered by research on the mutual picture of

parents and young people within the family carried out in 1973 in France, Yugoslavia and Romania on the initiative of the International Federation of Schools, Parents and Educators, enjoying aid from UNESCO. The preliminary report on the research made in Romania¹⁰ showed a relatively high level of convergence of value orientations of the subjects in the two generations, with agreement being greater on general social problems. At the same time, some differences were noted, either in the changed directions of attitudes (agreement-disagreement) or, more frequently, in degree of agreement or disagreement, particularly in work, the criterion for success in life and religion. We shall dwell on the first two elements. Many studies made in the Center for Research for Youth Problems have shown not only the fact that work plays an important part in the value world of those investigated but also that factors of content intrinsic to work are in the forefront. The research we now are concerned with has shown that in the view of success in life the adults emphasize efficiency and place professional activity above anything else, while the young people emphasize the importance of political commitment, integration into the collective but also fulfillment of desires and success in their personal life.

Without proposing to give a detailed treatment of the youth-adult relationship from the cultural perspective, we feel it necessary, analyzing homogenization, to dwell on a much discussed problem in sociological, psychological and pedagogical literature of recent decades: the existence of a "culture" or "subculture" belonging to the young people. We know that the subculture in general--not only the one attributed to young people--is understood as representing a relatively coherent system within the total system of culture, comprising its own network of values and a characteristic way of life. Sometimes it is felt that the subculture actually represents a counterculture characterized by denial of the system of values and creation of a new culture. Bearing in mind this interpretation of the term, that is, the association with the protest against institutions (as researchers in the GDR proceeded at a bilateral seminar)¹¹ or with the social disintegration of youth,¹² some authors in the socialist countries have been delimited by its use. Recently, however, other viewpoints also have been expressed. Constantin Schifirnet, in a study included in the volume entitled "The Development of Socialist Awareness in the Young Generation,"¹³ asserts, on the basis of determination of homogeneity of the choices and cultural aspirations of young people, the existence of a culture specific to them (thus, not a subculture, in order to avoid the idea of opposition or marginality in relationship with culture as a whole) and he identifies it with the existence of their own methods of setting values, of behavior, conversation, tastes, dance and, particularly, music.

Yet we feel that the assertion of the existence of young people's own culture does not enjoy the necessary arguments. Two aspects lead us to this conclusion: on one hand, the cultural options, with even a general, homogenous background existing, differentiate the function of social-vocational category, the residential environment, the family environment, sex, civil status; on the other hand, we cannot find in the young people's spiritual universe the specific major coordinates of the culture. On this basis, we believe it is more pertinent to refer to "their own cultural elements," in which we would include the ones already enumerated. A significant aspect, in our opinion, for the absence of a radical difference between these elements and the cultural system as a

whole is the fact that in many cases, after they are experimented with by young people, they are also taken on by adults (even if previously they had shown their disapproval).

A first conclusion of the analysis of the youth-adult relationship from the perspective of homogenization refers to Romania's lack of existence of antagonistic contradictions, of a conflict between generations; however, this does not exclude the manifestation of certain contradictions--functional or non-functional--particularly at the microsocial level (for example, with regard to the options for various values, ways of life and so forth).

III. Attempting to discover general conclusions for the theory of social homogenization, we feel first necessary the idea of the dialectical relationship of homogenization-differentiation. Our specialized publications have drawn attention to the need for placing the problem of limits of homogenization, mainly in the sense that keeping or the appearance of differences is not an element of dysfunctionality, of stagnation or regression. The party program stresses that in the future of communism, too, "certain specific features will continue to exist, primarily the differences between various categories of workers, in relationship with their role in the production process, in social activity, but they will emphasize even more the democratic nature of the new system, the dialectical unity of the worker personnel."¹⁴

In this study we have brought out several differences which continue to be demonstrated between generations. It is foreseeable that the differentiation will persist in the future regarding certain aspects of the social division of work, some characteristics of the rural in relationship with the urban, a number of elements of the way of life as well as particular features of culture, customs, traditions, value orientations for various social groups, including the ethnic groups--aspects which we did not propose treating in this framework. Undoubtedly, at each of these levels the relationship between homogenization and differentiation will be demonstrated in a specific way, with its not being possible to establish a general measure for the share they have; what can be maintained with certainty is that, in each case, homogenization aims at the basic aspects.

Assertion of the perspective of maintaining social differentiation poses another problem, that is, its relationship with equality, with the latter meaning the existence of the same conditions, the same economic, social, political and legal situations for all people and, in its complete form, being associated with communist society. We feel the analysis is timely, especially since it has signaled the need for Romania's sociology to give greater attention to the problem of equality, the relationship between equality and inequality in socialism.¹⁵ We feel that in these steps the utilization of some works treating inequality in capitalism can prove their usefulness, with their offering the opportunity to make a comparison between a basically unequal society and another--socialism--based on equality, but in which elements of inequality remain. Thus, Judah Matras,¹⁶ analyzing mainly American society, feels that sex, race, place of birth, residence, religion, education and occupation bring inequality in wealth and income, in access to goods and services, in style of life, in health and longevity, in participation in the community, in the degree

of freedom. Although the relationship of "cause" is interpreted differently by the dialectical materialist view of social determinism, the assertion of the all-encompassing nature of inequality and its examination at the scale of the entire particular social system should be evaluated. Whereas in socialism the basic factor generating inequality has been eliminated--private ownership of the means of production (which cause the inequality of "wealth")--and the workers have been insured their triple quality as owner-producer-beneficiary, this does not mean that social inequalities have disappeared. Many of the social differences which we mentioned earlier and others can be interpreted in the current stage of Romanian society's development in terms of inequality: between phsycial and intellectual work, between levels of salary (despite the fact that the principle according to which it is given is a single one), between village and city, between sexes, between educational chances and so forth.

Relating the aspects now shown to what we asserted on homogenization shows that this may be defined as a process to eliminate inequalities, but not in the sense of equalitarianism, of a leveling, but under conditions of maintaining the differences. In other words, homogenization refers to the disappearance of basic differences, the ones which generate inequality.

A last aspect we shall treat aims at the area in which homogenization is demonstrated, that is, the problem of whether this process is specific to socialism or not. In the context of the discussion published in VIITORUL SOCIAL No 2, 1974 (to which we referred before), the idea is expressed that homogenization is specific only to socialism, being caused primarily by the elimination of private ownership. More recently, we encountered another viewpoint, according to which the trend to homogenization is demonstrated in modern society in different forms and degrees in all the countries where the process of economic modernization has reached a stage characterized by extending of machine technology, by penetration of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution; in the capitalist countries with an average or advanced level of economic development, this trend is demonstrated in particular by the various social categories coming closer in social and working conditions, without, however, affecting the phenomenon of social polarization.¹⁷ In our opinion, homogenization and polarization are antinomic terms; undoubtedly, having physical and intellectual work and the village and city get closer together also is taking place in the capitalist countries with average or advanced development, in many cases with the processes of these types being more advanced than in Romania, but the areas of ownership and incomes place insurmountable barriers in the path of homogenization, with capitalism, by nature, not able to insure the basic conditions.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Report to the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party," Bucharest, Political Publishers, 1979, p 55.
2. "Social Homogenization in Romania" in VIITORUL SOCIAL No 2, 1974, a discussion organized by the sociology section of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences in collaboration with the Center for Sociological Research.

3. "Social Homogenization in the Socialist Republic of Romania. Processes and Factors," Bucharest, Academy Publishers, 1977, p 18.
4. Elisabeta Traistaru, Ion Traistaru, "The Homogenization of Romanian Society," Craiova, Scrisul Romanesc Publishers, 1979.
5. Catalin Mamali, "Planned Status and Socio-Vocational Mobility" in the volume entitled "Youth-Integration" of the Research Center for Youth Problems, Cluj Branch, Cluj-Napoca, 1977, p 23.
6. "Attitudes of Youth Toward the Moral-Political Values of Our Society," a Research Report," coordinator G. Basiliade, Research Center for Youth Problems, Bucharest 1980, p 30.
7. Gabriela Cresin, Dionisie Balint, "Youth in the Process of Modernization of the Rural Environment and of Agriculture, a Research Report," Research Center for Youth Problems, Bucharest 1978, p 67.
8. "Development of the Socialist Awareness of the Young Generation(Contributions to a Study of the Problem)", Research Center for Youth Problems, Bucharest 1979, p 75.
9. "Dimensions of Formation and Development of Socialist Awareness in the Youth," branch of the Research Center for Youth Problems, Cluj-Napoca, 1979 p 123.
10. "Mutual Picture of Parents and Children Within the Family," Research Center for Youth Problems, Bucharest 1973.
11. "Youth, a Powerful Social Force," CAIET DOCUMENTAR No 5, 1979, Research Center for Youth Problems, Bucharest p 151.
12. Aculin Cazacu, "Integrating Structures in Relations Between Generation" in the volume entitled "Social Integration of the Youth," Bucharest 1969 p 151.
13. Op. cit., Op 240.
14. "Program of the Romanian Communist Party To Create the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Direct Romania Toward Communism," Bucharest, Political Publishers, 1975, p 151.
15. Achim Mihu, "Values and Limits in Current Romanian Sociology" in ERA SOCIALISTA No 12, 1981.
16. Judah Matras, "Social Inequality, Stratification and Mobility" New Jersey, Prentice Hall, Inc., 1975, p 61.
17. Marin Nedela, Ion Iuga, "The Homogenization Process in Our Country" in ERA SOCIALISTA No 6, 1980.

YUGOSLAVIA

ATMOSPHERE IN KOSOVO IN MARCH, APRIL SKETCHED

Belgrade ILLUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1222, 6 Apr 82 pp 22-23

[Article by Stevan Zec]

[Text] On 1 April 1982, the Student Center Administration issued this statement:

"Last night a group of hostile students attempted to cause a hostile provocation. At about 19:40 hours on 31 March 1982, students were eating in the dining hall. Two of them began fighting, and 5-6 other students joined the quarrel, so that chaos ensued in which four tables and several chairs were overturned. Somewhat later, a group of 15 students gathered between the dining hall and House No 1, and began to shout slogans such as "Kosovo is a republic" and "whoever is not with us is a traitor." Intervention by the police immediately dispersed the group, but during that intervention the security forces heard some individuals whistling derisively from the houses, while a glass bottle was thrown from House No 2."

Here is how your reporter saw that same event:

Policemen by the Meter

Slightly before 20:00 on 31 March of this year, a large group of students, coming out of the dining hall after supper in the Pristina Student Center, began to shout and cause an uproar. The group grew very quickly, and then the first hostile slogans were heard. At the same time, all the lights in the student dormitories were turned on. That was a sure sign that irredentism was trying to raise its head.

Not 10 minutes had passed since the first yelling in front of the dining hall, before the entire student quarter was hermetically sealed off by a living wall of blue militia uniforms. The streets surrounding the student center stretch for about 2 kilometers, but the greatest distance between militiamen was 1 meter. They wore helmets on their heads, gas masks on their shoulders, and they carried rifles. Their leaders carried miniature automatic weapons called "pikavac" and they had a radio set with which they were in constant touch with their headquarters. A special detachment

of security forces that was located on the east side was equipped with the latest anti-riot equipment. From the time the militiamen arrived, no one could enter or leave the Student Center without being searched. Passers by could not move within the cordon of militia, but were cordially directed behind the militia's backs. Those passers by who lingered for a time out of curiosity to see what was happening were clearly and loudly sent home to bed, after their identification was checked. Newsmen were permitted to perform their work, to watch, but only from a distance.

Within the circle, the students tried to create confusion. One group of some 50 students sought to move out of the dining hall toward the dorms, while a group just as large came out of the dorm and moved toward the dining hall. These groups always met on the central court. Since supper was finished, it was clear that this was an old, tested tactic for creating disorder. This time, the militiamen did not just stand on the streets, but they began an active intervention, entering the student settlement and preventing more massive gatherings. The security forces would not agree to any dialogue with the students. All who did not have home identification documents were immediately taken in.

The living wall of militiamen remained until nearly midnight, and then they withdrew in part. At that moment four buses arrived with other security forces in civilian clothing. Without a-y warning these people went into the student dormitories, where the lights were still on in the rooms. A search was made of all the student rooms, and the identity of everyone they encountered was verified. Trucks took away those who did not live in the dorms. At 2:00, already on 1 April, nearly all the lights in the dorms were turned off, perhaps for the first time in the past year. Through the night, a single blue patrol car remained at the crossroads in front of the dining hall.

This Is Psychological War

In the city itself, after on 1 April the sun appeared through the scattered clouds, an atmosphere full of tension appeared. The workers who arrive in Pristina from surrounding places, and then go on foot to their enterprises, were dressed in an unusually festive manner, as though for Sunday outings, even though it was Thursday. Most of them were wearing white caps, while nearly all had absolutely new blue trousers, which they had put on for the first time since they were wrapped at the factory. During the night the streets of Pristina had been washed carefully, so that everything was sparkling and clean, as if for a parade.

From early morning, in front of the stores long lines formed for bread and milk. That always happens when demonstrations are expected. People were waiting patiently as much as 2-3 hours to buy a liter of milk and two or three loaves of bread. At the tobacco shops, no one was buying a single pack of cigarettes, but rather several. They were also buying matches in packages of ten boxes.

At about 9:00, tens of blue trucks and special vehicles for transporting people again headed toward the Student Center, just in case. The militiamen did not surround the Student Center, but were concealed behind nearby buildings.

A group of some 20 construction workers that was cleaning up the area around the university library had done nothing since early morning. They squatted behind a wall and smoked. At "Suncevi Breg," the new construction area in Pristina, work is continuing on a large number of apartments. Yet on 1 April, the eight large cranes there did not move from the beginning of the work shift. Only six workers who were pouring concrete to make a set of steps on the plaza between the hotel "Grand" and the Pristina Yugoslav National Army building threw gravel from one pile to another, never working together at the same time. There had been a large pile of rocks there since 10 March. Rocks the size of large eggs had been brought by trucks on the eve of the 11 March demonstrations, and they had remained there all the time until 1 April.

At the "Grand-Pristina" hotel, several tourist groups from France and the FRG arrived in the last few days of March. They had come to visit the cultural monuments and monasteries in Kosovo. The "Putnik" and "Kompas" tourist agencies had arranged these visits. The foreign tourists were obviously excited by the large number of militiamen, and they hoped that something interesting and exciting would happen. For them, all of this was an adventure, although it was not certain why they had come all the way to Yugoslavia to see it when, in France or the FRG, at least once a week someone demonstrates against something.

Incidentally, for about 20 days the militia patrols had been increased. Certainly, the militiamen were no longer all wearing helmets, they continued to move in threes, but already the children of Pristina could discern who was from what Secretariat of Internal Affairs post. Those from the provincial Public Security forces were dressed in overcoats, with "titovka" campaign hats and rifles for weapons, while only the militiamen from the combined federal and republic Secretariat of Internal Affairs forces were wearing helmets and windbreakers, with automatic weapons. On their belts they had small radio sets that were constantly turned on, so that any citizen passing close to them could hear their conversations. The combined militia forces from other parts of Yugoslavia who had come to help their fellows in the provincial Secretariat of Internal Affairs forces no longer stay in Pristina or other large towns in Kosovo; rather, they stay in bivouac outside of towns.

On the main street of Pristina named after Marshal Tito, the day is busy with strollers, while at night it is packed. As in all other places, the strollers show off their new clothes, and many come to be seen and to swap tales awhile.

Red and Black on the Main Street

For more than a year, Pristina's main street has been the barometer of the political mood. At the beginning of this spring, red and black were in vogue, whether for jumpers or for combinations of jackets and shirts, or other items of apparel, such as woolen shawls, which are worn even when it is warm and windless. Since the evening of 11 March this year, the militia patrols have not been on the promenade between 18:00 and 21:00, probably to avoid irritating the strollers, for memories are still fresh with the mass spitting at the feet of militia patrols to the accompaniment of loud "poos".

The cafes and restaurants are still full, even though this spring the prices for such services have increased markedly. In the restaurant of the "Kosovski Bozhur" hotel and the tavern of the "Grand-Pristina" hotel, every evening oriental music with songs in Albanian rings out while the guests drink more tea than alcohol. There are, however, other cafes, also with music, to which Pristina's Serb Montenegrin population and the reserve militiamen go.

In the village of Slatina near Pristina, every evening in a rather large private cafe called "Prolece" (Spring), a loud quartet of young men plays. The repertory is exclusively Serbian and Montenegrin folk songs with newly composed melodies. There are also "kolos," round dances which the guests must participate in.

And while the songs at the "Kosovski Bozhur" hotel often mention the eagle, those at the "Prolece" cafe contain popular references to the falcon. When the music stops, about 22:00, the guests at the "Bozhur" talk quietly or drink their tea, while those at the "Prolece" sing, for their souls and without accompaniment, songs like "From the Vardar river to Mt. Triglav," "Tito Stands in the Canyon and Orders Us," and "Tamo Daleko" (There Far Away-Serbian song of World War I events).

A Serb for Enver Hoxha

It seems that no news can any longer surprise the citizens of Pristina, or even of the entire province. Thus, without wonder they received the news that Gani Veselji had been captured. The president of the opstina conference of the League of Socialist Youth in Kline, he had twice been the commandant of the labor brigade for federal projects. Veselji was arrested because it turned out that he was a member of the top leadership of the so-called Marxist-Leninist Party of Kosovo.

Everything had become possible, so it was no longer any wonder that among four people sentenced (of whom three were Albanians) for supporting the 11 March 1982 demonstrations, there was one young Serbian national who, as officially asserted, before the court admitted that in a crowd he had shouted "Long live Enver Hoxha," and "Kosovo is already a republic," etc.

Reporters asked a question as to how it was possible that only four people had been arrested when in its report to LCY provincial committee had asserted that about 700 peoples had taken part in the last demonstrations, about whom it can no longer be said that they were misled, for rather they were nurtured on hatred for Yugoslavia. Mehmet Malici, the province secretary for internal affairs said that it was the aim of social action not to fill the jails with young people, but rather to lead those young people to the right path.

For a long time there have not been as many reporters in Pristina as in the last weeks of March. The Yugoslav television centers alone sent tens of teams that took pictures either on film or with electronic cameras.

Learning by the experience of 11 March this year, the television teams have tried in a timely fashion to find apartments in the high-rise apartment buildings that overlook the Student Center.

According to official data, after the 11 March demonstrations only four demonstrators were brought before the court, but many more reporters were brought to the police station (three at Podujevo and three at Pristina), just because they publicly carried cameras or tried to take pictures!

'Corrective Measures' for some Voters

The results of the recent elections are regarded as a total defeat for the irredentists. Azem Vlasi, president of the provincial conference of the SAWP, declared in that regard that "the massive reaction of the voters is an expression of the feeling of responsibility of the working people and citizens because of the well-known situation in the province."

The official statement is that only 43 ballots contained hostile slogans even though a total of about 690,000 inhabitants of Kosovo, or 92.3 percent, voted. Azem Vlasi mentioned an incident in a small settlement near Kacanik, where there are only 90 voters. All of them voted, but out of ignorance, after collecting the ballots they destroyed them. As Vlasi stressed, "that was not and cannot be regarded as any sort of hostile act."

As, however, authorities now admit without official confirmation, in many parts of Pristina the voting will have to be redone.

In the spring of 1982, Pristina is no longer supplied with goods as it was last year. Every morning one can notice long lines for milk in front of the stores. Whoever is able to buy products before 7:00 gets them, but later there is nothing to buy. In the shops there is no longer a wide selection of ready-to-wear clothing, or of household appliances, such as there was last year. There are no bananas, no coffee, or detergents in abundance. After a time lag, the shortages have finally reached Kosovo shops. That is understandable when you realize that official data show large economic losses in Kosovo. In Pristina alone, the last six months of 1981 brought 90 billion old dinars in losses, or half a billion every day.

Only three enterprises in the provincial capital operated without losses. The best was the lignite mine, a daytime digging operation in Dobro Selo. It fell short of its 1981 plan, but it made a profit because of coal price increases. The shortages are also felt at the "Grand-Pristina" hotel, which is officially designated a five-star hotel and placed in the top A category. Yet for fully 10 days it had no hot water. The personnel at the reception desk just shrugged their shoulders, and said, "We are sorry, the boiler is not working because we have no heating oil."

How much does a reserve militiaman in Kosovo cost the social community?

Naturally, such a person is employed somewhere, so his family must receive his personal income. Since his position is vacant, someone has to work in place of him, which means new wages to be paid. The militiaman, however, receives a per diem payment of 450 dinars, and is provided with housing and board which someone must also pay for.

When everything is included, the reservist costs the social community about 5 million dinars a month.

Therefore, no one any longer asks the question as to what will happen when the irredentists in Kosovo start demonstrations again. The real question is what to do if the situation stays as it is. The losses to the Kosovo economy and the financing of extraordinary public security forces whose presence is obviously essential represent a large burden.

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